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Zhelev Addresses Nation on Coming Local Elections

AU1008180395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Aug 95

["Address by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev to the Bulgarian people in connection with the forthcoming local elections"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Fellow Countrymen:

Under the powers granted to me by the Constitution, today I signed a decree setting 29 October 1995 as the date for holding the elections for mayors and municipal and local councillors. This date enables the state bodies, electoral commissions, and political parties to make comprehensive preparations for the local elections in conformance with the new requirements of the law and to guarantee that they are held in a free and democratic manner.

In 1991, when the Bulgarian citizens cast their votes for the local authorities, their choice was largely predetermined by the fact that they were simultaneously voting for their parliament. Now, four years later, everyone of us is clearly aware of the power and possibilities of local self-government, despite its lack of financial and legal guarantees. The interest of people toward one or another national problem varies, but it is a matter of importance to every Bulgarian that the place where he lives and works, the place where he was born and brings up his children, should be clean and pleasant and provide security and tranquillity.

On the eve of the elections, it is the common responsibility of all of the state bodies, the political parties, and the media to ensure that they are held in strict conformance with the laws and with full observance of democratic principles. The imperfections in the law once again present the Central Electoral Commission with the difficult task of finding a precise interpretation and applying its directions to ensure that the election results are accepted without question. The normal conduct of the elections also depends on providing in good time the necessary organizational, technical, and financial conditions, which in fact forms one of the main tasks of the government during the period of preparations.

The Constitutional Court also has to issue rulings on certain passages in the Local Elections Act regarding the participation in them of Bulgarians who hold a second nationality, the casting of votes by military servicemen, and the condition, absurd in conditions of democracy, prohibiting journalists from expressing opinions regarding parties, coalitions, and candidates. Other passages in the law, such as the possibilities for trade union and other organizations to express their attitudes to the electoral process and the financial conditions for the election campaign through the media, must be applied in an adequate manner conforming to democratic principles.

The balloting with the participation of three or more candidates in the mayoral elections, the use of white voting papers, the use of different numbers for every party and coalition in individual municipalities, and the possibilities for different forms of coalitions make it necessary to immediately begin a broad information campaign on these new provisions in the electoral law, which may cause difficulties for the electors and lead to the spoiling of the elections themselves. Although the law does not grant the Central Electoral Commission the right to issue statements in the national media, I hope the commission's leaders will do everything necessary to ensure that its decisions reach the municipal, district, and polling station commissions and the individual voters in good time, to guarantee the proper holding of the elections according to the law.

I hope that the Bulgarian voters, as they have always done previously, will show by their votes that they are not indifferent to the processes that are under way in the country and the problems of the localities in which they live. The motives prompting each voter to choose one or another ballot paper for casting his vote, to vote for something or against something, remain inviolable secrets. It is important for the voter to be confident and assured that he is giving his trust to people who will fight for the rights of the town or village to govern itself, who are able to understand and seek solutions for the everyday problems of the local population, who will [words indistinct], who will defend what has been achieved, and who will not permit a return to the past.

Thank you for your attention.

Similarly, the order of the investor countries did not change as of 30 June 1995. The first rank is taken by the FRG (36.4 percent), followed by the United States (18.8 percent), France (14.2 percent), Austria (6.9 percent), and Belgium (5.5 percent).

Direct Foreign Investments in Territorial View (in Million of Dollars)

	Volume of Invested Capital in 1st Half 1995	Percent
FRG	151.7	37.7
France	143.4	35.6
Italy	24.4	6.1
Austria	21.5	5.3
Great Britain	19.8	4.9
Netherlands	16.9	4.2
Other	24.8	6.2
TOTAL	402.5	100.0
	Amount of Direct Foreign Investments on 30 June 95	**Percent**
FRG	1,349.6	36.3
United States	699.1	18.8
France	527.9	14.2
Austria	254.5	6.9
Belgium	202.5	5.5
Switzerland	155.7	4.2
Other	525.0	14.1
TOTAL	3,714.3	100.0

The fact that world-renowned economic journals (the U.S. INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR, the British THE ECONOMIST), which published an assessment of the investment risks in individual countries, rank the Czech Republic very high among the states where one can safely invest certainly contributed to the continuing interest in investing in the Czech Republic. In the assessment of the aforementioned U.S. journal, the Czech Republic advanced in the state ranking from the 39th place it held six months ago to 32d place. The seven-rank leap is the second largest among all of the evaluated countries. The INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR journal drafts its tables according to regular surveys by all of the world's leading banks. Moreover, the Ernest & Young consulting firm also ranks the Czech Republic in this respect as the best of all of the postcommunist countries.

So far, all of the direct foreign investments—with the exception of the automobile industry—have gone to medium-sized and small enterprises and to sectors that are not of pronounced strategic importance for restructuring and modernizing the economy of the Czech Republic. Since the beginning of the transformation of the Czech economy, the inflow of foreign capital has been very inconsistent, which was mostly caused by the progress of privatization and its individual waves. In addition to the undoubtedly beneficial contribution to the prosperity of most enterprises, in which foreign investors took part, the operation of joint ventures is connected with the growth of imports for investments, and production and personal needs. The increase in the number of retail joint ventures, in particular, demonstrates that the expansion of the retail network of foreign firms in our country (Delvita, Billa, Meinl, K-Mart, Mc-

Donalds, Euronova, and others) has contributed to the growth of the trade deficit in 1995. The increase in domestic demand is thus largely covered by imports.

A pivotal change in the previous orientation of foreign investments is the Czech Government decision of 28 June 1995 on the strategic partner for SPT Telecom. The selected partner is the Dutch-Swiss consortium TelSource, backed by the U.S. AT&T, which obtained a 27-percent stake in the Czech monopoly telecommunication company for $1.3 billion (Kc34.4 billion). This is the largest direct foreign investment in Central Europe to date. Another important direct foreign investment in the strategic sphere will be the implementation of the agreement signed at the beginning of July on the entry of the international consortium (IOC) consisting of the firms Agip, Shell, and Conoco into the Czech Refinery Co., which is to be a part of the Unipetrol petrochemical holding. The IOC consortium will pay $173 million for a 49-percent stake in the Czech Refinery Co. According to the signed contract, at least an additional $480 million will be invested in the refineries over the next five years. These two investments will soon affect the ranking of investors and the extent of foreign investments in the individual sectors.

'Many' Krajina Serbs Expected To Return

AU1008125695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 9 Aug 95 p 6

[Interview with Ivica Tomic, Croatian ambassador to Slovakia, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "When They See What Kind of Life Awaits Them, Many Will Return"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [SME] Despite the guarantees being given by President Tudjman to the civilian population, the Serbs from Krajina are fleeing to Serbia. The outcome may be similar to the one in Bosnia—an ethnically cleansed territory, although, unlike Bosnia, voluntarily. Do you think that the Serbs' fear is unfounded?

[Tomic] The Serb evacuation is a consequence of propagandistic intimidation, and also of the information blockade under which they were living in the occupied areas. It goes without saying that the self-styled government has forced them to leave. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has appealed to them to stay, has offered an amnesty to members of the paramilitary units, and has offered the civilian population the protection of all civil rights and the possibility of having international observers present.

Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic has also appealed to them not to leave their homes and their homeland but to remain and accept the Croatian constitutional and legal arrangement. On that occasion, he declared that the government guarantees all ethnic Serb citizens of Croatia in the liberated areas all civil and ethnic rights and the implementation of an amnesty law. We do not want them to go. We think that when they see what kind of life awaits them on the other side, many will return. There have already been signs of this from some of those who left.

[SME] The success of the Croatian offensive was evidently also influenced by the fact that Belgrade did not come to the aid of the Krajina Serbs. It seems Croatia was counting on this. There is even talk of a secret agreement between Tudjman and Milosevic. What is the Croatian side's point of view on the reports of such an agreement?

[Tomic] There are no grounds for such reports; I repeat, none. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Party Head: U.S. Disapproval Justified

LD1008205895 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1530 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At its news conference today the Hungarian Civic Party covered the most important internal policy issues. At the end of the news conference party chairman [Laszlo Nagy] gave our program an interview. Bela Vajak reports.

[Begin recording] [Vajak] At the news conference today Laszlo Nagy expressed his solidarity with the ethnic Germans living in Slovakia, who had issued an appeal regarding the Benes decrees. [passage omitted]

You spoke of your observations on the government decision according to which the law on civil service will be modified.

[Nagy] There will be more and more soldiers, the Army and military affairs will be a greater burden on the state budget, and a detail of this that cannot be ignored is the fact that the Slovak state leadership will again become militarized. Instead of what is happening in other countries where armies are being demobilized, here the numbers are being increased again.

[Vajak] At the press briefing today it was said that the statement by the president of the Republic proves that there was no need to wait until the fall for some kind of a warning to be directed at Slovakia in the United States of America.

[Nagy] I am really not happy that the warning came earlier than I had foreseen three weeks ago. This only proves that the United States is seriously paying attention to Slovakia. It proves that the stirring up of hysteria that took place in Slovakia after our trip to America was completely unnecessary and false, since the president of the Republic had to hear the disapproval of the U.S. Congress, the State Department, and the White House regarding the same issues as those we heard three weeks ago. I would be much happier if the Americans had praised the Slovak president for the fact that human rights were more guaranteed in Slovakia, that the situation of ethnic Hungarians were better, privatization was continuing, and the government had radically changed its policies. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The Americans have good reason to express their disapproval regarding Slovakia. [end recording]

Duray Views Situation in Hungarian Coalition

AU1008123295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Egyutteles Chairman Miklos Duray, "recorded" by Zita Sujova in Bratislava; date not given: "M. Duray Does Not Intend To Place His Personal Ambitions Before the Interests of the Hungarian Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—We interviewed Egyutteles chairman Miklos Duray on the alleged disputes within the Hungarian Coalition and on topical political issues.

[NARODNA OBRODA] President Michal Kovac recently characterized your speech in Debrecen as "indicting the Slovak people and state." How do you explain this?

[Duray] I do not know how to explain it, because the president had the opportunity to familiarize himself with the whole of my speech, as we had sent a copy of it to his press department. If he had really studied it, he would have ascertained unequivocally that it was not about the people or the Slovak Republic, but undoubtedly about the current government alone.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Also in that passage about cultural fascism?

[Duray] Yes. That passage was a question, not a statement. I asked whether the adoption of the law on the state language in the version approved by the government would not exemplify the most developed stage of linguistic imperialism or cultural fascism.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Your Debrecen speech was criticized not only by coalition politicians but also by the opposition, and your partners in the coalition were reticent about it.

[Duray] It was to be expected that they would not agree with it. I sometimes see inconsistency among our opposition partners. They are opposed to the government and adopt antigovernment points of view in various issues, but they are far more restrained when it comes to an ethnic or Hungarian issue, and, unfortunately, sometimes it is as if they are supporting the government by their silence. This is also confirmed at bilateral talks, so based on this, I had envisaged that even the opposition would not be ecstatic about my participation in this rally in Debrecen. But, it has to be viewed as a nonpolitical event. I did not appear there as the Egyutteles chairman.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Considerable tension has been palpable within the Hungarian Coalition recently. According to certain sources, you are the cause of this tension and apparently you—it is true, for a certain consideration—have manifested a willingness to support the governing coalition in dismissing the president and in other fundamental issues.

[Duray] I am not aware of any sources from which such reports would come.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Or could it not happen that, on the basis of some promise or agreement, your would ditch your coalition partners and vote with the governing coalition?

[Duray] In no way. Theoretically, I can conceive of a form of cooperation with every government, because we have already tried several forms—at the time of the VPN [Public Against Violence Movement] when Mr. Meciar was prime minister in Slovakia for the first time, or in the Federal Assembly with regard to the federal government, or when Mr. Carnogursky was prime minister, or under Mr. Moravcik's government. But, I can only conceive of cooperating with the government—any government—within the framework of the Hungarian Coalition, and not outside it.

[NARODNA OBRODA] So, in your opinion, there is no danger that the Hungarian Coalition will collapse?

[Duray] Certainly not for the reason that Egyutteles would leave the coalition. The first split within the coalition was when the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] deputies did not want to enter into a joint deputies club on the basis of the coalition agreement.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What values or aims unite the parties in the Hungarian Coalition at present?

[Duray] Last year, when we concluded the coalition agreement, we defined our political aims precisely. At present, we are setting up joint committees for self-administration, foreign policy, and economic policy. I personally believe that these committees will harmonize work within the framework of our coalition.

[NARODNA OBRODA] In what do you differ?

[Duray] There are no differences among us in economic policy. There were rather different approaches in the issue of establishing self-administrations, while the most clear-cut opinion was within Egyutteles. We established a central commission for self-administration as far back as 1991, four months after the local election, and we have been formulating our policy ever since. The Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] established such a commission last year, and the MKDH did so just recently.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The MKDH and MOS would be satisfied with cultural and educational autonomy, while Egyutteles is apparently also demanding territorial self-administration.

[Duray] Territorial autonomy is just one of the alternatives for Egyutteles—in case it would be impossible to carry out the overall reorganization of self-administration in Slovakia in accordance with the European Charter for Local Self-Administrations. The government has drafted a specific concept, but we cannot agree with the fact that it places emphasis on so-called horizontal integration for state administration. We agree with the formation of second-tier self-administrations because this is important, but we favor the subsidiary principle for establishing a self-administration system.

In our view, the basis for the formation of regions should be the affiliation of local self-administrations. This principle will suit all the self-administrations in Slovakia, regardless of whether Hungarians or Slovaks are in the majority there. The concept being formulated by the government is the antithesis of this.

[NARODNA OBRODA] After your private talks with Prime Minister Meciar, people began to say that you are changing course and placing your own political aims before those of the coalition. Is this true?

[Duray] I can only say that the answer is no. I took the opportunity to meet privately with Prime Minister Meciar because I thought—and probably correctly—that I could manage to set up a meeting between him and the Hungarian Coalition. When the invitation came from Mr. Meciar, I consulted the Egyutteles leadership, so I did not make the decision myself. The leadership agreed that I should press for a joint meeting, because this issue was in harmony with the coalition's endeavor.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The Slovak National Party [SNS] has asked the Office of the Prosecutor General to initiate criminal proceedings against Mr. Bugar, Mr. Nagy, and yourself in connection with the remarks you made following your return from the United States. Do you consider this party to be an extreme nationalist party?

[Duray] I have been monitoring the SNS's activity since it was founded and some of them were my colleagues in the Federal Assembly. There were various kinds of people among them—real extremists, moderates, and those with whom it was possible to get on very well; but there were also those whose eyes were constantly clouded with hatred. There are all sorts of people there now, too, although there has been a certain "purge" in this party and the more democratically inclined have left it.

[NARODNA OBRODA] And how is it with Egyutteles? It is also being said about Egyutteles that, apart from ethnic issues, it has nothing to offer its voters.

[Duray] It is enough to compare the programs of these parties. Anyone who looks at our economic program and follows the statements made by our deputies in theparliament on economic issues, privatization, self-administration, and social matters knows that, compared with other issues, these are often the ones most dealt with. In essence, there was no need to raise the ethnic issue even once. Only within the framework of the law on the administrative budget did we campaign to ensure that there was an item there for minority culture, and when the law on state administration in education was being amended, we spoke up here, to protect educational self-administration. This is in the interest of Slovaks as well as Hungarians.

[NARODNA OBRODA] It is said that you and Mr. Slota need one another, that if one of you did not exist, the other would not be necessary.

[Duray] The first to say this, if I am not mistaken, was Mr. Miklosko. I do not know exactly what he meant. I think that this is more of a paraphrase than reality.

[NARODNA OBRODA] How do you think future developments in the domestic political situation in Slovakia will unfold?

[NARODNA OBRODA] I am concerned that the conflict between the prime minister and the president may outgrow all of the other issues. If the plan—that it is necessary to get rid of the president—is kept to, then this conflict will outgrow everything. It will also have an impact on Slovakia's foreign policy and representation. If this issue were to move into the background, then the major issues would be privatization, social policy, and ethnic policy.

Meciar-Kovac Conflict Seen as Power Struggle

95CH0269A Kosice DOMINO EFEKT in Slovak
1 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Ivan Hoffman: "Presidents and Prime Ministers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I do not know if it is some kind of natural law or just a coincidence, but wherever one looks one can see that presidents and prime ministers cannot find common ground. In Prague the tension between President Havel and Prime Minister Klaus is an open secret, and from time to time also the subject of commentaries in the press. It manifests itself mostly by the president's calling something white and the prime minister's calling the same thing black. And since reality cannot be seen differently, the prime minister does not forget to assure the public that he agreed with the president on white beforehand. For a long time the two highest representatives of the Czech state have held divergent views on the matters of establishing the senate (which does not exist, even though the Constitution assumes its establishment), land administration, and the position of the state on nonprofit organizations and foundations. The president repeatedly speaks in favor of a civil society; the prime minister holds to the principle of a free individual.

Although the argument that goes on in Prague is an argument about principles, it does not constitute a risk of a government crisis, as is the case in neighboring Poland, for example. There the tension between the president and the prime minister recently turned into a parliamentary drama that resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister Pawlak, but also weakened the prestige of the president. I know little about the current situation in Budapest, but I remember how President Goencz used to refer unofficially to Prime Minister Antall a few years ago. It was not fit to be published in the newspapers.

Obviously, the crowning point of this is the open conflict Prime Minister Meciar and President Kovac are acting out in Bratislava. The dramatic nature of this power struggle is intensified by the attention of the media and the large numbers of people who come to meetings to support one or the other.

It is remarkable that President Kovac is today supported at the same time by people who accompanied Prime Minister Meciar on his road to power and by people who opposed him. I wonder if the personal composition of Kovac's followers doesn't express an absence of historical memory in the society, which appears to be able to perceive itself only here and now. Don't people leave politics, in Slovakia? For example, Milan Knazko is, for some, a man who betrayed, and for others a man who erred and is rectifying his error—but does he remain, for everybody, politically immortal?

Some time ago Michal Kovac himself was smiling down from the same placards of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] as Vladimir Meciar. Obviously this biographical detail has thoroughly faded from the public's memory under the influence of the atmosphere of the moment, when the president in Slovakia personifies for many people the struggle to save a fragile democracy from the power moves of the strongest party and its leader. Isn't it important that in the past the very same power moves elevated him to the presidency? Maybe the Slovak president personifies something other than the struggle for democracy—for example, the belief that to change views is something natural, to err something profoundly human, and that it is never too late to set out on the right path....

Under certain circumstances tension between presidents and prime ministers is beneficial. The first condition is that the dispute be carried on in a civilized manner (in today's television democracy, it is sufficient if it takes place in a civilized manner on the television screen). For the public it is then beneficial when the president looks in a nonpartisan way to a more distant and higher horizon than the prime minister, who is limited by day-to-day affairs, and when in the dispute speak not two vain individuals at odds with each other but two concepts—that is: when the prime minister solves the topical problems of the times with concern for the response of the public (It is also sufficient if he displays that concern on television.) and the president takes the "unpopular" approach of asking questions about the overall merit of what the executive branch is doing. It is important that the eternal conflict between pragmatism and morality be personified by charismatic personalities because (why should we deny it?) politics is, among other things, theater, and it is not pleasant to be visited in the evening by poor actors via television.

I am afraid the Slovak drama is not being played out within the abovementioned parameters. The atmosphere surrounding the conflict between the prime minister and the president brings on the dilemma of the lesser of two evils. When Slovak democrats speak from the grandstands in favor of the president, it is obviously politically legitimate, and also in accord with the public opinion poll on the support for the president. But I have doubts as to their conviction that there exists no better candidate for the function of head of state. Consensus-seeking Michal Kovac must simply appear to them to be the lesser evil, compared to the confrontational and unfathomable Vladimir Meciar. And that is probably all there is to it. The real struggle for democracy can only be a struggle for the best that is possible, and not a struggle for the least evil. A struggle for the least evil must always be seen as a power struggle.

The changing countries of the former postcommunist bloc are quickly orienting themselves in the market environment and spontaneously adopting the liberal principles of capitalism. On the other hand, they are having extraordinary difficulties creating the kind of political culture that would cultivate a rapacious environment of rival private interests and eliminate individuals who misuse their positions.

Five years ago I thought it would be exactly the other way around: that it would be a problem to set up corporations, but that to know for whom to vote would be clear. I am asking the DOMINO reader to forgive me for concluding with this subjective view: There is something more important than whether the Slovak president is Kovac or Meciar, and that is: when the generally acknowledged political authority and symbol of democracy in Slovakia becomes a democrat, as president, and as prime minister, a professional who will look out for the economic interests of the citizens; when the conflict between those two becomes worthwhile.

Article Criticizes KDH Chairman's Views

95CH0268A Kosice DOMINO EFEKT in Slovak 25 May 95 p 3

[Article by Karol Wolf: "Jan Carnogursky's Mistakes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the "Probing Questions" column in DOMINO EFEKT 19/95 [as published] Jan

Carnogursky answered six questions concerning the foreign policy and security orientation of Slovakia.

Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that heads the only right-wing parliamentary party, which even has a solid international connection (membership in the European Democratic Union) and which therefore should have clear thinking on such issues, it must be noted that in his six answers he made exactly six mistakes.

His first mistake lies in his conviction that two media, DOMINO EFEKT and Radio Free Europe, interfered "improperly" in the internal debate of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], the aim of which was, according to Carnogursky, to have a "serious and responsible" discussion about Slovakia's position on the expansion of NATO eastward.

Carnogursky should remember that it was precisely he who at one of the KDH briefings publicly expressed the view that questioned the prospective entry of Slovakia into NATO as soon as possible. To be precise: To a journalist's question as to whether it is at present possible for Slovakia to achieve balanced relations with Russia and NATO, on the assumption that we become members of NATO, the KDH chairman replied no, while at the same time speaking in favor of balanced relations. Put in a different way: He publicly expressed a very dangerous and, in relation to his voters, irresponsible idea, which Radio Free Europe and DOMINO EFEKT justifiably criticized in the name of their listeners and readers, as well as KDH voters.

Besides being a mistake, Carnogursky's second and third answers also indicated a disinclination to admit a defeat within his party. It does not take a lot of shrewdness to see clearly that the formulation of the KDH Council's resolution on the question of Slovakia's entry into NATO, in which we at long last heard the clear position that the matter concerns only Slovakia and NATO, is a patent negation of Carnogursky's original view about the need for balanced relations between Russia and the West. The same applies to his statements about not "irritating Russia," even though here the KDH chairman at least admits that the KDH Council modified this statement. But even in this case, we are not talking about modification but about negation, for there is a difference between "striving for good relations with Russia," as the KDH Council's resolution says, and having them "balanced" between Russia and the West, as Carnogursky formulated it earlier. The second is not—should we succeed in joining NATO—possible, simply because we would be members of NATO.

A huge mistake as well as a huge political irresponsibility was committed by the KDH chairman in his fourth answer, in which he confirmed that Slovakia should strive for the kind of position in the new Europe that during the time of the iron curtain was held by Austria. It needs to be said that what geographic or "other natural" attributes our country has is absolutely immaterial. What is important is the fact that Austria was and is a neutral country, for which in its case there are concrete historical and political reasons. But Slovakia should not, even on the basis of the last KDH Council statement, hold such a position. The idea of Slovak neutrality is an irresponsible political gamble that should remain the prerogative of Luptak or Slota.

The fifth and sixth answers are related. The basic mistake, which encompasses both, is already practically "standard," and besides Carnogursky, almost all Slovak politicians make it at regular intervals.

First, on the substantive aspect of Carnogursky's statement: At present there cannot be anything more important for Slovakia's foreign policy orientation than joining EU and NATO. Fostering the idea that such a step can be helped precisely by strengthening relations within the framework of the group of Visegrad Four countries is mistaken and objectively incorrect, because Visegrad Four is basically a dead organization, and, what is more important, in the West it has not been mentioned for quite a long time in connection with the admission of Central European countries into NATO. Precisely on the contrary—in September of this year NATO will begin, already, bilateral negotiations with potential members. It is already common knowledge that admission will be on an individual basis. And it is now a more or less open secret who the leading candidates are: From the NATO point of view, geopolitical priority belongs to Poland, and after that the Czech Republic is mentioned, on the whole, definitely. It is 100 percent certain that the Visegrad Four countries will not join NATO together.

However, what must be well kept in mind is the fact that the debate always begins with the question: Do you want to join NATO or not? There are only two answers: yes and no. All others will be understood as no. In addition, it is necessary to repeat the yes always and everywhere with unchanging forcefulness and without casting even a shadow of a doubt on it. Misguided geographic, historical, and other far-reaching analyses of the situation simply do not interest anyone. Independent intellectuals not responsible to anyone can afford them, but not active politicians with a real responsibility to their voting public.

Construction on Highway in High Tatras Promoted

95CH0268B Kosice SLOVENSKY VYCHOD in Slovak 26 May 95 p 1

[Article by "SV-maxy": "Highway Construction Discussed by the International Club in the High Tatras"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tatranska Lomnica (SV-maxy) Since its establishment in December 1992, the number of the International Club's members has grown to 120 entrepreneurial and nonentrepreneurial entities. In our region, for example, its members are the East Slovakia Steel Mills, Chemosvit CHEM, Metallurgical Works Kosice, Slovak Electrical Engineering Plants, Krompachy Nonferrous Metal Works, and the Slovak Spa Bardejovske Kupele. This nonprofit interest group supports development of economic cooperation, influx of foreign capital into our economy, and dissemination of information about Slovakia abroad. As a rule the group invites to club activities members of the diplomatic corps, trade attaches of foreign countries in Slovakia, representatives of foreign companies and banks, and important figures from the political and economic life of the Slovak Republic.

On the program of yesterday's meeting of the club in Tatranska Lomnica was a discussion of the international importance of highway development in Slovakia. Less than a third of the planned total 659.3 km of highways in Slovakia is in operation. To finish construction of the entire line—which will include 13 tunnels and 27 large bridges—would require, given today's prices, an outlay of 114.4 billion Slovak korunas. Completion, or at least the beginning of construction by the year 2000 in our region on highway D-1 is expected on the Hybe-Vazec Poprad section (bypassing the town) with a tunnel under Branisko (Siroke-Fricovce), and in the Budimir-state sector, bordering on Ukraine. The financing of this vitally important project is expected to come from, in addition to the State Highway Fund, other public and private sources.

UN Asks Pale for Permission To Probe Genocide

AU1108122895 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Report by Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 11 (AFP)—The United Nations is asking Bosnian Serb authorities for permission to go to Srebrenica, despite numerous refusals in the past to travel to the region, a UN official said Friday [11 August]. The UN Security Council, armed with seven spy satellite photographs appearing to support refugees' testimony of massacres after the July 11 fall of Srebrenica, ordered an investigation.

To carry out that probe, the UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina has asked civilian Bosnian Serb leaders for permission to travel to Srebrenica, the former UN-protected enclave in northeast Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Chris Vernon, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

About 6,000 people, mainly draft-age men, have gone missing since Srebrenica fell on July 11, according to figures from the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). "With what has emanated from New York (Thursday) following the introduction of the photograph...there is a greater impetus and a greater urgency for us to get in there," Vernon said.

Bosnian Serbs have in the past repeatedly denied the United Nations permission to deliver food, medical and other humanitarian assistance to the eastern enclave of Gorazde and to Bihac in the northwest. They have also refused to give security guarantees to UN aircraft coming into the Bosnian capital Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serbs gave no immediate reply to Friday's request.

Vernon indicated that General Rupert Smith, commander of UN forces in Bosnia, may make the trek to Srebrenica.

He also acknowledged that further evidence of wrongdoing by Bosnian Serb troops would mean little in a 3 and a half year war that has seen the first concentration camps in Europe since World War II.

"The (humanitarian) record of the Bosnian Serb Army...is well known. This would just put a heavier slant on it, quite clearly," he said. "It would reinforce to some extent what we already know. What action would be taken would be really up to the UN criminal tribunal."

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, Army commander General Ratko Mladic and others already have been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia at The Hague for genocide and war crimes.

The indictments, and arrest warrants, came weeks before the United States gave the United Nations photographs of a field holding about 600 people captured by Bosnian Serbs and offered testimony from a 63-year-old man who said he survived a machine-gun massacre there.

ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga said Bosnian Serb officials seemed uncomfortable when asked about 6,000 people missing from the fallen enclave but pledged a response at a meeting in Banja Luka this week.

"I think there was a certain embarrassment on their side because I had not the military authorities in front of me," Sommaruga said.

ICRC: Serbs 'Embarrassed'

AU1108090295 Paris AFP in English 0843 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb officials seemed embarrassed when asked about 6,000 people missing from the fallen enclave Srebrenica, but pledged a response, the Red Cross said Friday [11 August]. About 6,000 people, mainly draft-age men, have gone missing since Srebrenica fell on July 11, acording to figures from the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The United States has given the United Nations seven photographs of a field with about 600 people in it taken by Bosnian Serbs, and offered testimony from a 63-year-old survivor who said he survived a machine-gun massacre there after the eastern Bosnian town fell on July 11.

Cornelio Sommaruga, the head of the ICRC, said that he had pressed Bosnian Serb authorities for information about the missing men when he met with them in Banja Luka this week. "I think there was a certain embarrassment on their side, because I had not the military authorities in front of me," said Sommaruga.

The Bosnian Serb authorities promised to turn over information about the missing from the town, but Sommaruga said that he was awaiting action. Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, Army commander General Ratko Mladic and others have been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia in The Hague for genocide and war crimes.

Silajdzic Hails U.S. Bill on Self-Defense Fund

LD1008225395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Something very important for our country is happening in the United States. At the initiative of Bosnia-Herzegovina's friend Bob Dole and his colleagues from the Senate, this body is trying to pass a bill in favor of a fund for the self-defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here is Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic commenting about this for Bosnia-Herzegovina radio:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] News has come in from the United States. I believe that this is good news and that our listeners, and of course our enemies, should know that the Senate will vote to set up a multitaleral fund for the self-defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that a bill setting up a multilateral fund to help the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was discussed at around 1600 U.S. time. Senators (?Helms) and Dole proposed it, and it is likely that other senators will endorse it.

The essence of this bill is that [words indistinct] the U.S. President forges international agreements with interested countries in order to create a fund for the self-defense [words indistinct] or to secure [words indistinct] procurement of military equipment, training [words indistinct].

If the United States presides over such a fund, which would encompass all countries wishing to be its members, at least one representative of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and one from Croatia would be represented in the fund. [sentence as heard] The initial U.S. contribution would be $50 million for the (?1996) fiscal year. With this amount, if the bill is passed, the entire amount for arms procurement will be $100 million.

This is the text of the bill. I believe that it is being considered and I believe that this is good news for our listeners and a warning for our enemies listening to this bulletin. [end recording]

Silajdzic Withdraws Resignation; Crisis 'Over'

AU1008185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report that we have been waiting for the entire day and that will definitely make you happy.

Namely, a session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, was held today. Pursuant to the conclusion of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, the session discussed the resignation of Dr. Haris Silajdzic from the post of prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The session was attended by all members of the expanded Presidency makeup.

As the resignation was not explained, the president of the Presidency asked Prime Minister Silajdzic to explain his resignation, which he did. In the ensuing debate, the following people participated: Presidency Members Stjepan Kljujic, Edhem Bicakcic, and Mirko Pejanovic; Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; Presidency Members Niaz Durakovic, Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, and Ivo Komsic; and Assembly Speaker Miro Lazovic. The common denominator of the views put forward by all present was that, in the current critical moment, we need complete unity in our ranks in the struggle against the aggression, especially now that the military situation has seen positive developments and there are signs of disintegration in the enemy ranks.

Taking all this into consideration, President Izetbegovic called upon Dr. Silajdzic to continue performing the prime minister's duties. Dr. Haris Silajdzic accepted this call.

An expert commission will be set up that will put forward an interpretation of applicable constitutional provisions with the goal of clarifying conflicting incumbencies. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly will, on the basis of a report by this commission, then pass a binding decision. With this, the government crisis is considered to be over.

Silajdzic Aide Confirms Decision

AU1008191995 Paris AFP in English 1911 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 10 (AFP)—A split in the Bosnian Government appeared to be mended, or at least patched over, Thursday as Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic withdrew his resignation. Silajdzic withdrew his resignation following conversations with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on Thursday, an aide to Silajdzic said.

The aide, who requested anonymity, told AFP in a telephone interview that the prime minister had decided to stay on but declined to say why. He said a press conference would be held on Friday.

The Bosnian prime minister, who has led the government's charge against the international arms embargo, offered his resignation on August 3 but never explained publicly why he wanted to step down. He had complained previously that Izetbegovic and his allies blocked initiatives from the prime minister's office.

Both men belong to the Democratic Action Party, which controls the Presidency and Parliament. In particular, Silajdzic accused the party of cutting him out of critical decisions, most recently on the agenda of a Parliament session last week and possible constitutional amendments. [passage omitted]

ICRC Head Comments on Possible Drawdown

AU1108090695 Paris AFP in English 0845 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 11 (AFP)—The Red Cross may be forced to cut back its presence, or even withdraw altogether, if the the United Nations decides to pull its peacekeepers out of Bosnia-Herzegovina. "The principle is that we would stay. The question would be how. There would be operational decisions (to be made)," Cornelio Sommaruga, head of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], said in an interview with AFP.

The United Nations is withdrawing most of its troops from Croatia, where government soldiers have defeated separatist Serbs in most of the country, and is also mulling a reduced presence in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. That could make the situation in Bosnia so dangerous that the international relief organization would be forced to carry out a "provisional withdrawal," Sommaruga said.

"We would have to appreciate (assess) whether...it would be possible to stay," he said at Red Cross headquarters, in a room where the windows were covered by steel sheeting for protection from snipers. The Bosnian Health Ministry said snipers picked off four men on Thursday.

Gens Delic, Dudakovic on Lifting of Bihac Blockade

AU1008143195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Interview with General Rasim Delic, chief of the Army's General Staff, and 5th Corps commander General Atif Dudakovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Calo] General, can I just talk to you for a minute? All day today, we have been touring these vast free territories of the Bihac region together. What are your impressions?

[Delic] I was last here in 1993, but I know the territory. Of course, in 1993, the situation was unclear, unlike now when it is absolutely clear. What the 5th Corps has done, it has done not only for the Bihac region, but for the war of liberation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in general. By removing the blockade, it has made a large part of its forces mobile, which will contribute a great deal to the overall struggle, and, with its example, it will motivate all the fighters throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, this should be seen with one's own eyes. The message for all the fighters is, of course, to follow the example of the 5th Corps.

[Calo] By chance, we find ourselves near the seized weapons here. It is all collected here on a large plateau. Let us hear General Dudakovic. Excuse me, General, can you tell us a few words [changes thought] here we are in Cazin, on a plateau where all these weapons that you have seized are laid out. What is your impression of all this? What next?

[Dudakovic] We are all very happy, and [words indistinct].

[Calo] That was very brief, precise, and military, but can you tell us, after these brilliant successes by your corps, which we all believed would come, I get an impression that you can do whatever you want with such men.

[Dudakovic] Well, they, themselves, have said that they can do it, and I can and want to. People with a goal will certainly reach it, and I have one.

[Calo] General, one more question. The lads swear by you, and you swear by them. Can there be a better combination of strength, and, I will freely say, intelligence? You have carried out several operations that have stunned everyone who knows anything about military matters.

[Dudakovic] Krajina is full of paradox. As a song says: [words indistinct], therefore, heroes are on one side and cowards on the other, and the heroes have always been present in this region. Krajina will fulfill its historic debt to the Bosniak people, and it will take part in the final battle of liberation of our country. As you yourself said, the soldiers themselves told you that the howitzers and guns that spat fire at us until yesterday will now be turned in the right direction.

[Calo] Do you have a message for the fighters throughout the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Dudakovic] Unquestioning discipline in carrying out orders and constant attacks will take us to the final liberation.

Bihac Mayor on City's Future

MS1008122795 London INDEPENDENT in English 10 Aug 95 p 11

[Report by Sarah Helm incorporating interviews with Bihac Mayor Adnan Alagic, and with Ivan Prasha, commander of Bihac Croatian Defense Council: "Bihac's Triumphant Defenders Muster for New Campaign"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "I will tell you what I think about the future," said the mayor, a tall, solemn man of 40 who has held the town of Bihac together for three years. "The liberation of Bosnia will start from this area. Now we have a break, and then we will continue the liberation."

Outside Adnan Alagic's shot-up offices in the centre of town, the people were celebrating the arrival of the first food convoy they had seen for months. Already, prices on the black market were beginning to fall. A little girl selling cigarettes and coffee on an upturned crate said cigarettes cost four Deutschmarks yesterday compared with five last week. Coffee was 18 marks a kilogram compared with 50 last week.

"We knew all along that if Bihac had fallen there would have been no Bosnia and no Croatia," said Mr. Alagic, folding his hands on his conference table. "If Bihac had fallen, the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia would have united and that would have been the end for us. Now the people know there will be a Bosnia."

From the vantage point of this recently freed town of 70,000 worn-out Muslims and a few thousand Croats, it is clear that the Croatian recapture of Krajina and the rescue of the town has changed the balance of power dramatically in Bosnia, and throughout the former Yugoslavia.

Yesterday news continued to reach the town about the disintegration of the numerous enemies Bihac has faced since the Serb assault began in 1992.

"We have cut the front line from 350 kilometres to 160 kilometres," said Ivan Prasha, commander of the Bihac HVO [Croatian Defense Council], the small Croatian militia which has fought throughout the siege alongside the Bosnian Muslim Fifth Corps. "Our western frontiers are open."

The latest assessments suggested that the last Serb fighters had been pushed back to about 10 kilometres from the centre of the town. Outside the commander's battened-up windows were photographs of the faces of the fighters killed along with 3,000 civilians in the area since 1992.

Since the link-up between Croat and Bosnian troops, Bihac has been rearmed from Zagreb. The two forces have seized 150 tanks that were left behind by the Serbs in Krajina as well as 400 tanks left by the Serbs fighting nearer in Bosnia.

Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, had deserted the Krajina Serbs because he didn't want to start a new world war, the generals of the town insist. And they are euphoric about their potential ability to push on and inflict further defeats on the Serbs. "We can reach Banja Luka. We will not get there immediately, but we will get there in the end," the HVO commander said.

The leaders of Bihac's resistance talked yesterday of the other enemies that they had fought. There was Fikret Abdic, the Muslim renegade who had lined up against his own people, forming his private army in the town of Velika Kladusa, just north of Bihac.

"Abdic is finished," said Mr. Alagic, flicking his hands in disgust. "We have liberated Velika Kladusa. Two days ago I went there to see for myself. I will never regret that day until I am dead."

And there was the other enemy: the forces of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], a word which the mayor spat with disgust. "UNPROFOR and the international community have been our enemies," he said, describing how the UN "no-fly zone" had helped enforce the siege of Bihac, cutting people off from air contact.

Convoys had been deliberately disrupted, he asserted. "Abdic's stockpiles were full. I saw them for myself. It was the international community which made that possible." Mr. Alagic described with bitterness how the world had wanted Bosnia to be divided, and how the only UN resolution they had respected was the arms embargo.

The exhaustion of the people had given way to determination and a new hope. They said they did not want charity and were starting to work on rebuilding the town, its industries and the army.

SDA: Krajina's Collapse Marks 'Turning Point'

AU1008145695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report on the news conference by Ismet Grbo, member of the Party of Democratic Action, by Samir Huseinovic in Sarajevo on 10 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Grbo] The collapse of the parastate creations, the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina and the so-called Western Bosnia, has marked a turning point in the war, in which the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been struggling for its survival.

The brilliant victory of the 5th Corps and the lifting of the blockade of the Bihac region, together with the coordination and cooperation with the Croatian Army, have introduced a new stage in the liberation of our country and the Republic of Croatia from the fascist boot. There is no doubt that the Republic of Croatia has formed a new political picture that is in its interest, but also in the interest of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was said at today's news conference by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA].

The meeting of the two top level delegations has of course contributed to the strengthening of the Bosnian-Croatian alliance. On that occasion Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, also visited Bihac and the free Cazin municipality, where he was warmly greeted by the citizens and the representatives of the military and civilian authorities. The return of some 20,000 refugees to Velika Kladusa is expected soon. They had of course been expelled by traitor Abdic. There is already a good number of those that have returned to the free territory, among them quite a few members of the former People's Defense. It was again said at the news conference that all those who have not bloodied their hands in this conflict will be pardoned. As far as the SDA knows, criminal Fikret Abdic is in Zagreb under arrest.

Thanks to the great victory of the 5th Corps and the Croatian Army, the people of the Cazin Krajina are no longer in enemy encirclement, and the results of these successes can already be seen in the improved humanitarian situation.

As for the large number of refugees from the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina who have left the territory of the Republic of Croatia, Ismet Grbo said that the state bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have warned the international community of the consequences. It is however hard to prevent their arrival into our country. However, to judge by developments, they do not seem interested in remaining in crisis areas, and their demands for the opening of the Serbian border are increasingly loud. It is logical that people that have been tricked once will not fall for the same trick again, particularly as the [Bosnian Serb] aggressor's rulers will exert pressure and instill fear to lead them into death, or at best into a new exodus.

Army Launching 'Fierce Offensive' Against Serbs

MS1108103495 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 11 Aug 95 p 10

[Report by Tim Judah incorporating comments by Bosnian Army spokesman Lt. Col. Milutinovic: "Triumphant Armies Launch Offensive To Pin Down Serbs"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka—The Croatian and Bosnian Armies have begun a major new offensive, Bosnian Serb military sources say. Bosnian Serb civilians have begun to flee or are being evacuated across northwestern and central Bosnia and a general mobilisation is under way.

The attacks come at the worst time for the authorities, as sources report that Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military commander, has severed all contacts with the civilian leadership of Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

According to Lt. Col. Milovan Milutinovic, the spokesman of the Bosnian Serb Army, the predominantly Muslim Bosnian Army has begun an "extremely fierce offensive" across central Bosnia. He said it was intended to pin down Serb troops there.

The main thrust by Bosnian and Croatian forces is expected out of the Bihac area, from the former Krajina and from territories recently captured in Bosnia by the Croats. Their aim is to forge a territorial link between Bihac and the main body of Bosnian Government held territory.

Fighting is reported to have begun along these fronts. Lt. Col. Milutinovic said that Bosnian Serb troops have been rushed to the front in recent days and because of this he did not believe that the Croats would now attempt to recapture eastern Slavonia, the last Serb-held area in Croatia.

In an attempt to soften up the Bosnian Serbs their northern towns have been shelled in recent days, and civilians have begun to flee from them.

Morale is low among Bosnian Serbs, many of whom believe Krajina was "sold" to the Croats by President Milosevic of Serbia. Stunned by its collapse, Banja Luka, the northern Bosnian Serb stronghold, and the rest of the region are gripped by fear.

Morale is also low because of the disarray in the Bosnian Serb leadership. Last week Dr. Karadzic attempted to sack Gen. Mladic. The Army top brass rejected this and one source said: "Karadzic is going up the wall. The General Staff has cut all relations with him and he doesn't even know where they are."

Lt. Col. Milutonivic denied this, but added that Gen. Mladic was still in command.

Meanwhile officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees said that the exodus of Serbs from Krajina was drying up. Stefano Comazzi, of the UNHCR in Banja Luka, said there were up to 150,000 people from Krajina on the move but perhaps as few as 5,000 left in the region.

Doubts Regarding Rapid Reaction Force Reported

95BA0300B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 95 p 6

[Article by Bruno Lopandic: "Abandon Illusions and Combine Forces!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The situation is in Croatian and Bosnian hands; you urgently have to agree on a common strategy; don't rely on international factors because they do not have the political will for action, and they will stay that way," says a high-level and well-informed UN official. Perhaps Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic really will agree on that strategy at the meeting that is expected in the next 10 days or so.*

"I really do not understand where you get the idea that the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] will change the course of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If you think that those forces will open up a humanitarian corridor to Sarajevo and save it, and after the fall of Srebrenica, will save the rest of the eastern enclaves, then you are seriously mistaken. Come on, be realistic," these are the words of a high-level UN official, who wants to remain anonymous at any cost. No one at the UN believes any longer in any sort of success for the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] or the RRF, and so the option of withdrawal, as time passes, is coming closer and closer and becoming more and more realistic. What are all the reasons for these views?

From the very beginning of the story of the RRF, the information, whether official or unofficial, has been completely contradictory. What is known for certain is that although the decision on those special forces was made by the Security Council, France and the UK were "pushing in" their troops even before the UN decision. After Butrus-Ghali nevertheless, at least formally, managed to put those troops under the UN, in the absence of a real plan of action (the RRF commanders in the field have no idea what they are actually supposed to do), the leaders of the main world powers have conceived of several scenarios: The first is protecting UN personnel and enabling the passage of humanitarian convoys. That role is completely unclear, because according to the already well-known UN formula, no one wants to get involved in a war with the Serbs. "In the event of action by the RRF and ensuring the passage of humanitarian convoys by force, those forces will not keep their positions even after that, and once again that brings us back to the situation that we already have with UNPROFOR," a high-level NATO official claims.

The real role of the RRF, according to diplomatic sources, is to create conditions in the field for UNPROFOR's successful withdrawal. The deployment of the RRF in areas controlled by the Bosnian Muslim-Croatian federation has several explanations. The first explanation lies in the fact that the forces' deployment plan is once again conceived on the basis of approval by the appropriate authorities, which the Bosnian Serbs are not even thinking of accepting. "We have a lot of influence with the Croatian side, and so we have to use it," we were told by a secret source. It is another matter that the international community does not exactly like the fact of the coordinated military action by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Bosnian Army. Intelligence data indicate that, in addition to deployment in Ploce, Tomislav Grad, and central Bosnia, the RRF representatives have also demanded deployment on Dinara! How to stop the military operations of the HVO and the Bosnian Army is one of the chief preoccupations of powerful politicians, especially Yasushi Akashi.

The fall of Srebrenica into Serbian hands revealed a great deal of this. Just a few days after the NATO air strike, a lot of it leaked out. Although, by agreement, NATO only acts after the UN calls upon it, a warning from NATO came three days before the fall of Srebrenica. The UN ignored the warning. When everything was already over, a close air support operation was carried out, but seven hours after the Dutch commander had requested support from the field. Two hours after the Dutch cry for help, the Serbs were warned. The rest is more or less known. Even if the RRF had been willing, according to diplomatic circles, there would not have been any reaction, especially a rapid one. The initiative for the involvement of those forces is thus slowly fading.

Brakeman Akashi

Rupert Smith's plan, according to which the blockade of Sarajevo could have been lifted in a very short time, was personally rejected by Akashi, out of fear of offending the Bosnian Serbs. It has been confirmed, furthermore, that Akashi, immediately after the strike against the Serbian bunkers around Sarajevo, wrote to Karadzic and promised that there would not be any more attacks. In the case of Srebrenica, an air strike was not carried out, but rather close air support. The Serbs were warned, but it was known that they would continue on to Srebrenica anyway. "Rupert Smith is in an awkward and extremely frustrating position; so far Akashi has rejected 90 percent of his plans, and the only thing that they can agree on is refusing to wear UN uniforms," we were told by a NATO diplomatic source. But what will happen with the other two protected zones?

The RRF will be completely ready at the end of August. By that time, the Serbs will be in a position to attack and conquer Zepa and Gorazde without any interference, and no one will stop them, including the UN, NATO, and the RRF. It is precisely for that reason that Akashi is trying as hard as he can to persuade Karadzic and his accomplices, but also his sponsors (read: Milosevic) to refrain from further attacks, at least in the short term. There is no doubt, and diplomatic circles confirm this, that the whole idea began in Slobodan Milosevic's head, and was carried out by Karadzic. If he succeeds in conquering the other two enclaves, with the tacit consent of international factors, then Milosevic will continue further negotiations, from an extremely strong position, with two goals: achieving a definitive partition and collapse of Bosnia into two ethnic areas, and creating even more problems for Croatia. The latest attempt by Carl Bildt to propose to Milosevic the recognition of Bosnia, with a clause for a commitment to lift the sanctions completely only when he recognizes Croatia, was flatly rejected by Milosevic. If the Serbs conquer the remaining two enclaves, then UNPROFOR will withdraw, according to diplomatic sources.

A Tudjman-Izetbegovic Agreement?

But what can Zagreb and Sarajevo do? A high-level UN official says that, especially now, the situation is in Croatian and Bosnian Muslim hands. "You must urgently agree on a joint strategy. You must not rely on international factors, because they lack what is most important, the political will to do something. Don't have any illusions, they will stay that way. What your foreign minister wrote about Belgrade's assistance to Karadzic and Martic is not even half."

The announced meeting between Tudjman and Izetbegovic, according to the latest information, should agree precisely on a joint strategy. In the next 10 days or so, according to our sources, the two presidents, either in Zagreb or on Brioni, should agree on at least two significant things: joint defense, and the treatment of the UN in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In connection with the UN forces, regardless of the situation at the time when the mandate expires, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina will have a joint position, according to diplomatic sources. According to serious diplomatic sources, even after the organization of the RRF, the international community is still not showing the slightest intention of punishing the aggressors and their "brain" in Belgrade in any way. In the absence of any action or display of political will by the international community, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have no other choice except self-reliance.

'Security Situation' Blocks Airlift to Refugees

AU1008194295 Paris AFP in English 1924 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report by Dennis Barnett]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 10 (AFP)—A planeload of humanitarian aid to relieve the misery of refugees massing here remained grounded Thursday as warring factions argued over guaranteeing the mercy flight's security, the Red Cross said. Yugoslav authorities in Belgrade halted the flight because of the "unsatisfactory" security situation and unconfirmed reports of fresh shelling near the area early Thursday, Red Cross spokesman Kim Gordon-Bates said.

The NATO-enforced no-fly ban over Bosnia was to have been temporarily lifted for the aircraft, a Russian-built Antonov 12 with 60 tonnes of food aid aboard, one of 21 flights scheduled for Banja Luka over the next seven days. "There have been some security problems in and around the airport over the past few days. The airport itself was not touched, nor the perimeter. However the civil authorities here felt that the airport was a target," Gordon-Bates said.

"In view of that, the Belgrade authorities felt that the security situation was unsatisfactory, enough for us to start making contact with the authorities in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Belgrade to get from them commitments that indeed the plane will be able to land without being taken for a flying target," he said. The plane has been rescheduled to fly at "end of morning" on Friday, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman said. The plane is due to bring vital humanitarian aid to the city which has become the hub for huge tattered columns of desperate Croatian Serb refugees.

It was clear here Thursday that the international humanitarian effort to cater for the flood of refugees had yet to hit its stride, partly because UN refugee agency convoys from Belgrade were meeting a tide of people coming the other way on heavily congested roads. The Red Cross put the opening of an airbridge in sharp context Thursday, saying it had only enough stocks for two more days, having reached 80,000 people in the past four days.

Meanwhile, with Bosnia's roads still clotted with refugees, a woman and a child were reported killed, and another civilian wounded, in Bosnian Government shelling around Sipovo, 60 kilometres (40 miles) south of Banja Luka. The town had come under shelling for two days, on August 8 and 9, the Red Cross said.

Bosnian Government troops were reported to have launched an offensive in central Bosnia, in a bid to push north to link up with Bihac. There were unconfirmed reports that the Bosnian Serb town of Kulen Vakuf had been evacuated.

The humanitarian agency also said fighting had been reported near Petrovac to the west, amid signs that a frightened local population could add to Bosnia's massive refugee problem. "There's pressure also on new communities and new towns to the west of us which could result in a new movement of population and we're concerned about that," Gordon-Bates said.

Against that worsening situation, the Red Cross said the congestion on roads east of this northern Bosnian city had eased slightly, fuelling belief that "the people from Knin who were moving seem to have got here," the spokesman said. But concern was growing for Krajina Serbs trapped in several pockets on the far side of the Una River.

Security assurances for the airbridge were first shaken Wednesday after the Bosnian Serb military authorities claimed that Croatian gunners had shelled an airfield north of Banja Luka. The reports could not be independently confirmed, however. Bosnian Government authorities are also said to be hostile to the idea of allowing an air bridge into Bosnian Serb territory while Sarajevo airport, in the sinister shadow of Serb guns, remains shut.

Croat 'Threat' Delays Flights

AU1108115695 Paris AFP in English 1143 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 11 (AFP)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said Friday [11 August] that "security questions" kept delaying its planned air bridge to Serb refugees who fled to the Bosnian Serb-held Banja Luka region.

ICRC spokesman Rene-Luc Thevoz said flight plans and technical problems led to "security questions" involving the flight.

Red Cross President Cornelio Sommaruga previously had announced the opening of the aerial supply line for Serb refugees fleeing victorious Croatian forces in the Krajina region in southern Croatia.

Speaking on Tuesday from Banja Luka, in north-central Bosnia, Sommaruga said he was waiting for bureaucratic clearance from New York and Brussels before the first shipment on Wednesday. NATO has declared a "No-fly" zone over the airspace concerned.

But on Friday, the "information minister" of the Bosnian Serbs, Miroslav Toholj, claimed Croatian Army threats had delayed the flights.

He told AFP in Belgrade the Serbian authorities and his own government had both cleared the flights, the only problem being "the threat of the Croatian Army."

Croatian authorities denied the charges. A government official in Zagreb said his government was not pressuring on the ICRC or other aid agencies not to help Serb refugees.

"This is another country. We have nothing to do with it," the Croatian Government spokesman said.

In fact, aid agencies might be reconsidering flights there, according to Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Zagreb. He said most of the refugees who fled Croatia at the weekend, after Croatian forces retook the Krajina region from rebel Serbs, were heading for, or were already in, Serbia. "The attention has shifted to Serbia," he said.

UNHCR headquarters in Geneva announced "the departure (Friday) of the first of a series of 10 humanitarian flights from Ancona (Italy) to Belgrade."

UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said the agency had 4,000 tonnes of food ready to leave Ancona with two flights a day scheduled throughout the weekend.

Direct flights to Banja Luka would be "four times more expensive, for security reasons," than one flight to Belgrade, Redmond said.

Sommaruga told AFP in Sarajevo that during his trip to Banja Luka earlier in the week, he met the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karazdic.

Karazdic is charged with war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague, but Sommaruga said: "I took the decision to negotiate with people accused of war crimes in the interest of the victims."

"My absolute priority is to reach the victims," he said.

He said about 100,000 Krajina Serbs were currently fleeing their homes, as thousands of Croat and Moslem inhabitants of Banja Luka were under threat had already fled the town.

Karadzic, Martic Vow To Retake Krajina

AU1108130595 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Joint news conference by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic in Banja Luka on 9 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Martic] I came here to hold brief consultations with [word indistinct] of the Serb Republic about what to do next, because the people of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina are one nation. I am convinced, although mine is a very difficult position, almost like that of Yasir 'Arafat, that I will return victorious, for I know the mentality of our nation. I believe that the plight of our people, the mass exodus of the civilian population in particular, will not last much longer. According to the announcement that I made yesterday, all men fit to serve in the Army, according to reports I have received so far, are willing to come back and place themselves at our disposal. That is a large number of men and they will be able to liberate their homeland.

Personally, I do not recognize the occupation and, as long as a single inhabitant of the Krajina is alive, that occupation must not be recognized. I am convinced that we can regain the land that has been our home for centuries. But things will be different this time. Hitherto, we were burdened by the civilian population who, I believe, will be taken care of with the help of the Serb Republic and Serbia, a fraternal nation. I believe that the soldiers will return to defend their homes, this time without that burden, and enable their people to return. We will turn the tables on the Croats. They will be burdened by their civilians this time. We will retaliate in kind.

As for the regime in Serbia, let me just say that I pleaded, days before the aggression, just for one statement, one threat to Franjo Tudjman not to attack the Krajina. We all know that they were obliged by the Vance Plan to protect the territory and the population of the Krajina. It is common knowledge that they expelled us from Yugoslavia, that we never wanted to leave, that they forced the Vance Plan on us, and that they obliged us to guarantee the protection of the people and the nation. But to no avail!

All the potentates, even Akashi, sought to ingratiate themselves with the United States and bent over backwards to explain that Slobodan Milosevic would not interfere, as promised. On a daily basis, Croatian propaganda boasted that Serbia and Yugoslavia would not get involved. That was the main cause of the exodus. People, civilians, realized that they had been abandoned by Serbia, their mother country, and that they had to withdraw to stay alive. Their realization that they were deceived, tricked, and that they would not be protected in keeping with the Vance Plan, caused the exodus.

I will not pull out and I would not even dream of going to Serbia. I am among those who will immediately return to the Republic of Serb Krajina, for it is not fully occupied yet. I have quite a few men fit to fight and, even as we speak, they are inflicting harm on our enemies, the Croats and the Muslims. I am convinced that, with the help of the Serb Republic Army, their brotherly help, that we have the strength to regain every inch of our Serb territory. Considering the motive of those people, I am convinced that they do not want to be like the Kurds, without their houses, without their homes. I know how they feel. I know that I am worst hit at this moment, both as a man as a president. I understand their bitterness. However, we will put that behind us, as we are a vital nation. I am convinced that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears and that they will start coming back. Reception centers have already been designated. Already in the next couple of days, the Croats will be experiencing hell for doing what they did to us!

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, regarding the demarcation with the Croats, do you think that we should insist on ethnic borders again or should we perhaps talk about strategic borders?

[Martic] So far, we were careful to insist only on our ethnic territory. However, from now on, I do not guarantee that we will not enter Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, and all urban areas. Just as all our civilians suffered, so will theirs. In other words, I cannot guarantee anything this time. Europe, the world, Germany and the United States in particular, supported the Nazi state of Croatia. We must support ourselves and I think we can do that. I do not guarantee that we will stop at ethnic borders.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you have any information about the response of volunteers from Serbia at this moment?

[Martic] As far as I know, although I have been spending most of my time in the woods lately the response of Serb volunteers is significant. They are bitter at the regime of Serbia and Montenegro over the treatment of their brothers in the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina. But the response is great. We expect more and more people. I do not know exactly how many will come, but I know that true patriots, and not a small number, are interested in coming here and taking revenge on our enemy.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you know the whereabouts of General Mrksic?

[Martic] Gen. Mrksic is near Banija and Kordun trying to rescue civilians, trying to consolidate a bridgehead and areas further toward Dvor na Uni and elsewhere. The situation is settling down after the hell we have been through. We have reestablished contact with him and we are contacting all our officers and soldiers as well. I think that things will look much better in the next couple of days.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Karadzic, do you think President Milosevic should help the Serbs from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina?

[Karadzic] I do not know whether they intend to do that, but I know that Yugoslavia is obliged to protect the citizens and the people of the Republic of Serb Krajina. According to the Vance-Owen Plan, if Croatia attacks the Republic of Serb Krajina, that would mean war against the United Nations and Yugoslavia. That did not happen and the United Nations and Yugoslavia no longer have any credibility.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you discuss this and the military situation with Gen. Mladic and what is your relationship with him?

[Karadzic] I know exactly that our orders must be carried out. Some generals are too emotional, but everything functions still.

[Unidentified correspondent] President Karadzic, tell us how much military assistance the Serb Republic can offer the Republic of Serb Krajina at this moment?

[Karadzic] We are confused by some defense procedures. Some things could have been done differently. We object to the military organization on the whole. [sentence as heard] However, we are already helping them. Our units took part in the seizing of Dvor na Uni and I think that, as soon as we consolidate our forces, we will present a respectable force together with President Martic's soldiers and gradually liberate Krajina. We saw that Croatian soldiers ran as fast as their legs could carry them before the onslaught of a small unit of ours in Dvor na Uni. It is clear that artillery is the Croats' only strength, that our soldiers are still superior.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, as the supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army, could you tell us about the situation in western parts of the Serb Republic?

[Karadzic] The situation is good. We are firmly holding our positions, even advancing in some places. You know that we have seized Dvor na Uni. A unit of President Martic's entered and liberated Karlovac yesterday, but could not consolidate or exploit the success, but this showed that Karlovac can be seized and that the Croats can easily be defeated. As you know, our Army is doing a fine job on the Bihac-[Bosanska] Krupa front and on the Glamoc-[Bosansko] Grahovo front. The other defense lines are stable. The Croats are more frightened that we will cross the Una and Sava Rivers than we fear that they will cross them. They are blowing up bridges out of fear that we will retaliate and take some bridgeheads on the left banks of the two rivers.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Karadzic, as far as I see, quite a few soldiers of the Republic of Serb Krajina have come to (?Raca) to go to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Will you mobilize them?

[Karadzic] Of course, they had to see to that their families are safe, find a solution. After that, they will be mobilized into President Martic's army. That is going to be a joint army.

[Unidentified correspondent] President Martic, we still remember your success in 1992 when you established the corridor and proved that you are a top Army leader. Will you directly take part in commanding some units during the liberation of the Republic of Serb Krajina this time, too?

[Karadzic] Yes, and I will be very happy to do that. It is my biggest wish to make them pay for this. I have been too engrossed in politics lately. This time, I will be paying more attention to the Army, to commanding, and [words indistinct], even if I acted as a part of a commando team. I am convinced that we have the strength, courage, and chances to take revenge on the enemy in kind.

Let me tell you another thing, since I see many reporters here, and since our [word indistinct] were dictated from Serbia all along and on purpose: There is no rift between Mr. Karadzic and Mladic. We are one and the same nation now, undergoing the same suffering, and I believe that we will return to our homeland together. I believe that we will liberate every inch of the Serb land and more than that, and that we will provide a territory for our nation.

I would like to add that we fled this territory in 1914, 1941, and 1991 as well. We came back here every time as victors.

[Unidentified correspondent] What would be your message to our citizens [word indistinct] regarding the exodus and the possibility to [word indistinct] the Republic of Serb Krajina?

[Karadzic] The nation who wants to defend itself, the village that wants to defend itself, the defense line that wants to defend itself cannot fall. Our border towns are a case in point. Many of our towns are located in the bordering area, from Srbobran [Donji Vakuf], Jajce to some extent, Teslic, Doboj, Modrica, Brcko. All the towns on the Sava River are in the border area. [Bosanska] Dubica, [Bosanski] Novi, and Kostajnica have only recently become our border area. But all other are border towns. Take Zvornik for instance, take Sarajevo and its nine municipalities, 10 actually, including Pale. The Sarajevo defense lines are 50 meters apart. A wall separates the Serb and the Muslim territory and neither side can do anything. Indeed, we have not made much effort about that because we are hampered by the international community, but the Muslims cannot seize the Serb part of Sarajevo! The inhabitants of Ilijas, Hadzici, Vogosca, Rajlovac, Ilidza, and Grbavica feel strange if shells do not rain down on them. As you know, not every shell kills. Very rarely are people killed by shells. Consequently, people determined to defend can succeed in that. We visited the bordering municipalities and we will visit them again. The wartime presidencies are doing an excellent job, the authorities are stable. We are convinced that nobody should be packing up. Where can we go? We can defend everything! We must only start fighting and not only that, we must launch counteroffensives. It is easy to push the enemy back when it is in a defensive formation. All our successes were achieved during counteroffensives. That will happen in the Republic of Serb Krajina as well.

[Unidentified correspondent] President Martic, could you comment on the arrival of tanks that we have lately seen coming to eastern Slavonia, western Srijem, and Baranja?

[Martic] About eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja, I am convinced that Serbia will defend that part, for it has a vested interest in the area, both from the economic and military-strategic point of view. That was the only thing Serbia was interested in all along. I do not refer to the people in Serbia, but to its regime. I am sure they will order the Army to defend that area. I am not afraid the area will fall, I do not want to see it fall, those people are our nation. However, I am convinced that the regime in Serbia will order that the area be defended, unlike our part of the territory west of the Drina, both the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, which was unfortunately sold, as you all know, and in an unparalleled, unprecedented manner.

[Unidentified correspondent] What did they get by selling it?

[Martic] International factors did everything and assessed every particular man, even the leaders of Serbia and Yugoslavia, from the initial propaganda that President Milosevic is a butcher of the Balkans, etc., to saying that he is the greatest peacemaker. They knew exactly what they were doing. They promised sanctions every day. [sentence as heard] Serbian media dwelled solely on the possibility of lifting sanctions, wondering whether that would happen in an hour or in a day, while all that was just a fraud and a great lie. We are sorry to see that President Milosevic fell for that propaganda, that he believed those fake peacemakers who were working against the Serb nation all the time. Of course, they did their part. Their plan was realized. Not all the way, of course, for they will not stop until they have reduced Serbia to the city of Belgrade. I do not want that, I am not looking forward to that. I sympathize with the plight of the Serbs wherever they are, in Kosovo, Vojvodina, near Benkovac, Obrovac, in Herzegovina, western Slavonia. I cannot be happy to see any Serb suffer. Unfortunately, the regime in Serbia headed by Milosevic has accepted the deceitful game of world peacemakers who wanted to break the Serb national corps and were partly successful in doing that. This is his last chance to break loose, if it is not too late already, and to try his best to help us return to our homes. If he does not do that, we will do it ourselves. I believe the Serb nation does not share Milosevic's views right now. I believe that all Serbs support us and that they sympathize with our suffering, just as we sympathize with the plight of other nations, let alone of our own.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] the Contact Group?

[Karadzic] The plan of the Contact Group no longer makes any sense, but it could provide a basis for negotiations. But we will never accept it, that is out of the question. There is no need to negotiate if you accept the plan. The plan can be treated as a basis, although I think that the situation has changed and that the international community should consider resolving the crisis in a sensible manner respecting the situation on the ground.

Karadzic Reinstates Mladic as Pale Serb Commander

AU1108123195 Paris AFP in English
1226 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Friday [11 August] reinstated Ratko Mladic as military commander one week after firing him from the post, a senior Serb official said.

Bosnian Serb information minister Miroslav Toholj announced the move in an interview with AFP.

Halts Proposed Army Changes

LD1108142495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and Armed Forces supreme commander, today decided to halt all envisaged changes in the Army.

In this connection, the Serb Republic press bureau has issued the following statement:

"Taking into account an appeal by His Holy Highness Patriarch Pavle, intellectuals, the people, and the soldiers, and taking into account the views of Serb generals, and to ensure Serb unity and victory, Radovan Karadzic, Serb Republic president and Armed Forces supreme commander, has decided to halt all envisaged changes in the Army in order to strengthen unity and enter into the victorious and concluding phase of the war."

Report Views Rift

AU1008170095 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 p 13

[Report by Djordje Martic: "Karadzic's Way of No Return"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Who is commanding the Army of the Serb Republic, and what will be the consequences of the latest misunderstanding between the military and the political leaderships of the Bosnian Serbs?

General Ratko Mladic, the evening before yesterday, called Karadzic's authority into question in quite an unambiguous way. He definitely rejected Karadzic's decision on self-appointment, by which Karadzic promoted himself from the position of the leading civilian into the leading military personality, leaving just a reserve advisory position for Mladic.

Thus the general, faced with a challenge quite dramatic for any soldier, has found himself in a situation that, after the first test of his own authority among the top brass of the General Staff, requires his further, quite severe political struggle.

That the General Staff of the Army of the Serbian Republic has stood up for Mladic only additionally underlines the already unmistakably apparent fact that Karadzic's intention to amputate the authoritative general is not only about a conflict between two major protagonists of the Bosnian events, but is also about a conflict between two different concepts in the search for a settlement of the Bosnian and the Balkan crisis.

The basic difference between those two concepts has nothing to do with ideology, even though Karadzic is a nationalist and dedicated adversary of any sort of opposition, whereas Mladic wants an Army unburdened by political passions. The difference has to do with interests in the first place, and in view of some elements even with the civilizational aspect. Karadzic considers Pale to be the capital of Serbianhood, placing even Belgrade on the provincial margin of national awakening, and tends to believe that everybody in Bosnia who thinks in a different way should be eliminated. Mladic is one of those who think differently.

Attitudes From Interviews

The announcements of the escalation of their conflict started to appear discreetly and occasionally in the form of nonexplicit mutual accusations that were quite unintelligible to the broader public. In a recent interview that Mladic gave to SRPSKA VOJSKA, responding to the remark that at the present time there have been many allegations that officers foster leftist orientations and are communists, he said that such allegations were coming from the kitchen of those who wanted to conceal their own dirty hands by labeling members of his Army, especially top officers, probably because they feared that people might call them to account since they were high officials either in the party or in the state administration.

Additionally asked to comment on the attempts made by certain party leaders to make Army units in certain regions serve party interests, the general answered that there was no need for forming any paraarmies, such as those that had existed two or three years ago. According to Mladic, such paraarmies were chiefly interested in goldsmiths' shops, banks, well-supplied supermarkets, and there was no hill that they managed to keep or free. "They were just good at looting," Mladic said early this summer.

These attitudes of his were just a harbinger of the media explosion that was caused by his interview with the British INDEPENDENT. In a commentary that appeared alongside the interview, the journalist said that Mladic hesitated to name all of his opponents in the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, and to speak openly about his conflict with Karadzic, the rumors about which, as he assured, were coming from anti-Serbian kitchens. In this commentary on Mladic, which was published together with the interview, the journalist says further:

"He (Mladic) also resists nepotism and corruption. Singling out Karadzic's secret police called Typhoon, which has been dissolved, Mladic says that it is a shame that the dismissed members of that service have been rewarded with licenses for opening private businesses or restaurants.... They are now managing jewelry shops, banks, and well-supplied supermarkets. There is not a single hill which they defended or freed. On the other hand, our soldiers and officers are living quite modestly," Mladic says.

In the interview with SRPSKA VOJSKA Mladic refused to mention Karadzic's name in the part of the conversation referring to corruption, but the responsibility for that, only several days later, was taken on by the INDEPENDENT journalist. Already then it was clear that the misunderstanding had escalated, and that the reports on the conflict between Karadzic and Mladic at the meeting of the People's Assembly of the Serbian Republic held last May in Sanski Most were quite reliable.

Reportedly, on that occasion, while speaking from the floor, Mladic asked who Karadzic was, and in addition brandished the letter that Karadzic had sent in 1968, as a 23-year old, to Josip Broz Tito. In that letter Karadzic supported Tito because he had stood up for students. Karadzic, of course, defended himself. This episode does not even reflect in the clearest way the atmosphere, in which speakers on the floor were shouting and hammering at the speaker's box. The situation went as far as Mladic saying to one of Karadzic's men: "You are a hero only where a gusle [Serbian traditional musical instrument] exists, and where it does not, nobody talks about your military successes, because there are none." By the way, Karadzic plays the gusle, and at this meeting he did not succeed in removing some of Mladic's generals, even though he insisted on that.

Appropriate Questions

The fact that recently President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, by his letters sent to personalities in Bosnia whom he considers capable of causing a diplomatic-political change and influencing the situation so that the escalation of war turns into peace negotiations, has chosen Mladic, rather than Karadzic, has been a sign for Karadzic that he must act. Last Friday he demoted Mladic and announced that he was taking over the command of the Serbian Republic Army. The situation is now getting complicated, because Karadzic is now a commander without a General Staff, since his key officers of the Bosnian Serb Army have stood up for Mladic. Is this Karadzic's end, or is the psychiatrist in the Bosnian game starting a new, military career?

The rift between Karadzic and Mladic has come about at the moment when the former is in Pale, while the latter is in Drvar, in western Bosnia. It seems reasonable to wonder to what extent this fact has to do with the growing distrust between Banja Luka and Pale.

There are many unknown things, and while Karadzic is facing the test of his own military authority only now, Mladic has already confirmed himself as leader. This is confirmed by the following testimony, which is all the more valuable since it is impossible to accuse the author of partiality.

Pet B. Stogren, a major in the Canadian Army, spent two years in Bosnia-Herzegovina, serving in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. He has made a synopsis of his future study on General Mladic. Fascinated by the Serbian officer, Stogren writes about Mladic:

"General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb forces in the former Yugoslav republic, is experiencing an unquestionable success as operational commander in the so-called third Balkan War. I am not overstating the situation if I say that among Serbian soldiers from the Drina River to the Croatian Krajina he is revered as a god. With the war entering its fifth year, Mladic has been renowned in many a Serbian folk song. His qualities of a leader, heroic deeds, and strategic accomplishments are some of the factors that are keeping the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia together. General Mladic is such a dominant force that it would be a matter of sheer laziness not to explore how it was possible for this operational commander to experience such a success."

Considering this personal account of the Canadian officer alone, Mladic has considerable advantage over Karadzic. Then, what option remains to the leader in Pale? If he does not give up his intention to be the supreme commander, does that mean that he will form his own army, and that it will be, actually, the paraarmy which Mladic is talking about?

Karadzic, a gambler from Pale, has never won a fortune by playing cards, but now he is risking losing much more to the political roulette on which he has taken a chance. The stake is not only himself, but also many Bosnian Serbs. The adventure that Karadzic has entered upon may cause the deaths of hundreds of thousands of additional people.

Karadzic Views Causes of Fall of Krajina

LD1008171895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prijedor, 10 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic and the Armed Forces supreme commander, said in Prijedor that the Serb Republic has to be protected from various emissaries spreading misinformation.

"The fifth and sixth columns are detrimental for the survival of any state and Army and we must prevent that," Karadzic said, adding that he has asked the State

Security to arrest these emissaries so that it can be discovered who and for what reason had sent them.

"We have learned many things from Krajina, and we must learn this too. We must find out how can it happen that there is no fighting despite a large number of officers, and that commands were just falling, and how come there were orders to withdraw without anyone knowing who gave them," the president warned.

According to Karadzic, history will reveal soon who caused these developments in Krajina. "Krajina was being undermined politically for years. Four separate SDS [Serb Democratic Party] groups were set up there so that the leading figures were opposed to each other. The people got the feeling that they had no future. The rich and the educated left Krajina, and the people were left leaderless," Karadzic said. However, he added that there was no justification for the fall of Krajina.

"Krajina could have been defended for at least one month, during which time forces opposing Croatia's aggression would have gained strength," the Serb Republic president said, noting that the swift defeat and fall of Krajina enabled the international community to remain silent or to voice only mild condemnations.

Karadzic said this at a meeting of the Prijedor War Presidency, where War Presidency President Srdja Srdic presented a report on the current situation in this municipality.

Opposes Serb Emigration

LD1008201795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prijedor, 10 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, stressed today that the Serb Republic has a firm and stable government and a well-functioning War Presidency.

"Over the past few days I have taken severe steps not to allow what is happening in Serb Krajina to take place in the Serb Republic, too," Dr. Karadzic said, adding that it is significant that the families of members of the War Presidency, deputies, and officers are not going anywhere, "because the people are looking to their leaders."

"The people draw conclusions about their leaders on the basis of their leaders' behavior," the president of the Serb Republic stressed in a conversation with members of the War Presidency and business officials from the municipality of Prijedor. The president recalled that Sarajevo has nine Serb municipalities which are shelled on a daily basis, but the population is nevertheless not leaving.

"In Doboj, which is shelled every day, there is no emigration. On the contrary, refugees are settling in the town because it is our town and it will remain ours," Dr. Karadzic stressed. He added that the problem lies in some municipalities that have not been affected by the war, and whose inhabitants have not had any experience of the war and are now surprised by shelling.

"This is something which must be explained to the people, and we will be very resolute in ensuring that no one emigrates anywhere," the president said, stressing that "every inch of our territory must be defended."

"A great deal of noise has been made about Croatia as if it were the Wehrmacht. I guarantee to you that the Croats will flee like rabbits when our units come. This was confirmed in Dvor na Uni when the special police came," Dr. Karadzic stated. He added: "Serbdom is to be defended from its perimeters. Belgrade is not defended in Terazije [in central Belgrade], but in Obrovac [in Croatia], but now it is being defended on the Una and Sava Rivers. Whoever is unable to understand this cannot lead the Serb people and cannot be responsible to the Serb people for their state."

According to the president, indiscipline or mistakes cannot be allowed in a state of war. "The state of war must be respected, everything must function. It must be known who is the head and who is the tail and who is responsible," the president of the Serb Republic said categorically.

"I am the president of the state and the supreme commander. I must ensure that there are no mistakes because no one has the right to make them. There must be complete respect for the authorities, the Constitution, the laws, and the decisions adopted by the civilian authorities," Dr. Karadzic warned.

"There was no need for the Serb people to emigrate from the Krajina, nor is there any need for people living on the periphery of the Serb Republic to be upset and depressed," the president of the Serb Republic concluded.

Serb Commander: Krajina Troops 'Joining Us'

LD1008195495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 10 Aug (SRNA)—Lieutenant Colonel General Momir Talic, commander of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia], said today that the Serb Republic's northwestern borders [passage indistinct]. "Now we are even stronger because units of the Serb Krajina Army have joined us and all conditions to halt the enemy and to fully protect our state border exist," Gen. Talic said in a statement for [Bosnian] Serb radio.

According to him, the 1st Krajina Corps consists of experienced soldiers ready to fight for and defend their nation and state. "A nation without a state is a nation without identity. The state is our mother and father and we shall defend it at any cost," the 1st Krajina Corps commander said.

Gen. Talic said that the 1st Krajina Corps units and command enjoyed excellent cooperation with war presidencies of municipalities in their zone of responsibility. He warned that a "sixth column" spreading the mood of defeatism and panic among the people is active. [passage indistinct] "We shall fight against them with all available means," the 1st Krajina Corps commander stressed.

Gen. Talic said that the Muslim 7th and 5th Corps will never join forces as long as the 1st Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic Army exists.

More Than 1,000 New Soldiers

LD1008222895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2141 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—More than 1,000 new soldiers reported to the 2d Krajina Corps of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army after they had found shelter for their families. They were immediately deployed in various units, the press centre of the Main Headquarters of the Serb Republic Army has announced.

The 2d Krajina Corps' fighters today discovered and routed an Ustasha sabotage group in the Martin Brod area. Nine Ustasha soldiers, most of them 20-year-olds from the Croatian town of Varazdin, were killed in the fighting and many were captured. Their task was to attack a column of refugees in the area, thus causing a halt and confusion on the road, the statement says.

It adds that Serb fighters still have the upper hand and control all defense lines on the Grahovo-Glamoc section of the battlefield.

Ustashas and Muslims from Izetbegovic's 5th Corps clashed in the village of Uzljebic, between Donji Lapac and Bihac on the border between former Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina around 1400 today. The reason for the clashes is disagreements about a further Muslim advance in the Republic of Serb Krajina, that is, their attempt to occupy parts of the territory that the Croats regard as theirs. According to initial reports, several people were killed and several wounded in the clashes, the General Staff of the Serb Army reported.

On the Bihac-Krupa front, Muslims fired artillery shells on Serb settlements south of Bihac, in the Novi Grad and [Bosanska] Krupa na Uni areas from the allegedly safe area of Bihac. Serb soldiers responded adequately by targeting military targets. At the same time, Muslims opened fire from infantry weapons along the entire front. Serb defense lines are firm and stable. [passage omitted]

RS Reportedly Stops Belgrade TV News, Newspapers

AU1008170295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As Radio Belgrade has learned, since today, the Serb Republic [RS] has entered a special kind of media isolation. The Dnevnik Newscast of the Television of Serbia has not been carried for three evenings now, and the Belgrade dailies did not arrive today either.

It has been learned that this decision was made by the RS top state leadership, so the people there must resort to the RS state channel and Croatian Television. As for newspapers, only GLAS SRPSKI is coming out in Banja Luka and this in a very small number of copies.

Government Denies Media Ban

LD1008173595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Aug (SRNA)—The Office of the President of the Bosnian Serb Republic today categorically denied the false information being spread in the Banja Luka region that the Serb Republic authorities had banned the distribution of the Belgrade press.

The statement from the President's Office stresses that it is possible that the press is not arriving in some parts of the Serb Republic because of serious traffic jams at border crossings, caused by the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina crossing into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Democratic Party Condemns 'Warfare' Against Serbs

LD1008211795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 10 Aug (SRNA)—The Banja Luka municipal and local committees of the [ruling] Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands have appealed to all patriots and political parties to join in the uncompromising struggle against the exponents of "special warfare," in other words those who spread lies designed to destabilize this part of the Serb Republic.

During this evening's several-hour-long debate at a joint session of the municipal and local committees of the party, it was confirmed once again that party work on the ground is of crucial importance, and concrete conclusions were also adopted that will be passed on for consideration by the war presidency of this municipality. It was concluded that all party members are obliged to engage in an open struggle against those who are spreading disinformation about the alleged sell-off of territory and are working on a betrayal designed to lead to the emigration of the population, not only from places near the borders, but also from the interior of the republic. [passage omitted]

Akashi on UNCRO Withdrawal, Cutback in Bosnia

AU1008170395 Paris AFP in English 1650 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 10 (AFP)—The United Nations is to make a major withdrawal from Croatia and is considering a cutback in its presence in Bosnia, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said Thursday. "The great majority of our personnel, particularly the soldiers, will be withdrawn in the next two to three months," Akashi said after a meeting with senior Croatian Government officials. "The decision to withdraw various battalions of the military forces of UNCRO (the UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia) has been taken. It will begin in a matter of days," he said.

Akashi said the commander of all UN forces in the former Yugoslavia, General Bernard Janvier, had held discussions with UN Bosnia Commander Lieutenant General Rupert Smith on cutting back the UN presence in Bosnia. Janvier, "in cooperation with General Smith, is considering the possibility of rationalizing our presence in Bosnia," Akashi said. Recent events "might enable us to reduce to some extent our peacekeeping forces (in Bosnia)," he added, noting that they were poorly protected.

The UN mission in Croatia counts 13,400 soldiers and had around 10,000 soldiers deployed through the formerly Serb-held Krajina region until the recent Croatian offensive. The Croatian Army swept into the Krajina at the weekend, brushing past UN peacekeepers and retaking the area under Zagreb's control. The offensive, dubbed Operation Storm, sent thousands of Croatian Serbs fleeing into neighbouring Bosnia and Serbia. Three UN peacekeepers were killed in the attack.

"All our experts are working on concrete plans of withdrawal. Airplanes and ships have to be brought in here to collect equipment. We have to expediate this, as fast as possible but it must be done in an orderly fashion," Akashi told reporters after his meeting with senior presidential aide Hrvoje Sarinic.

The UN envoy earlier this weeks signed an agreement with the Croatian Government cutting back the UN mission to monitoring human rights and delivering humanitarian aid. The UN has some 19,000 soldiers deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was unclear Thursday what form of "rationalization" the UN has in mind.

Akashi: Eastern Slavonia 'Relatively Quiet'

AU1108094295 Paris AFP in English 0930 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 11 (AFP)—UN officials were completing plans Friday [11 August] for a major UN withdrawal from Croatia and studying a possible reorganisation of UN operations in Bosnia, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said.

Akashi said the withdrawal from Croatia, announced Thursday, would begin with some 1,700 Argentinian and Nepalese troops from the western Slavonia region which Croatian troops snatched back from Serb separatists in a two-day operation in early May.

A UN official, who asked not to be named, said current plans called for only 2,000 to 3,000 UN personnel to remain in Croatia out of the current 13,400 troops and officials here.

The UN envoy said the reduction in UN troop presence would also affect the eastern Slavonia region which borders Serbia, the only area of Croatia still occupied by separatist Serbs, and where tensions have recently risen.

Currently, the UN has some 1,800 troops and civilian police in eastern Slavonia, principally Belgians and Russians.

"As you know, already in Sector West, (western Slavonia), the Argentinian and Nepalese battalions became redundant after the events of May," Akashi told reporters Friday, refering to the region's recapture by Zagreb.

These battalions will leave Croatia "within days," he said while the departure of the majority of the remaining UN troops would be completed within "two to three months."

Having failed to prevent the Croatian recapture of the Serb-held Krajina region, the UN now sees its role in Croatia reduced to one of monitoring human rights in the country where its soldiers no longer have a great sense of purpose.

A final decision on the residual UN role in the rest of Croatia depended on the UN Security Council and the Croatian government.

The current UN mandate runs out in November and "the direction is a much lighter, much more reduced presence consisting of UN military observers, civil affairs and human rights people and civilian police," and far fewer troops, Akashi said.

Croatia is known to want to retake the eastern Slavonia region but it fears Serbia would react much more strongly to any military action there than it did to the Croatian retaking of Krajina last weekend.

Akashi said the situation in eastern Slavonia, around the towns of Osijek and Vukovar, was "relatively quiet" Friday.

"There is sporadic shelling (but) as of this morning, we have not seen any major troop movements," he said.

Meanwhile, the Japanese diplomat said the United Nations was considering possible monitoring of Croatia's international borders, something Zagreb has been requesting for several months.

The UN envoy said Thursday that the UN commanders in Croatia and Bosnia were meanwhile considering a "rationalisation" of UN forces in Bosnia after the Croatian strike on the Krajina.

He refused to explain what he meant by the term, but the lifting of the siege of Bihac this week, following the Croatian strike against the separatist Serbs, could be seen as reducing the need for UN troops in the Bihac pocket.

Some UN officials are also known to favour a pull-out of troops from Gorazde in the east. However, "rationalisation" did not mean a full-scale withdrawal from Bosnia as was being planned in Croatia.

The Croatian action had "changed the balance of power in Croatia, Bosnia and has implications for the whole Balkans which it would be good to look at," Akashi said Friday.

Asked if there were plans for an immediate withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN envoy said: "No, not at this time."

Krajina Corps Ready To Defend

LD1008170495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 10 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Aug 10 (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina Army Slavonia-Baranja Corps is fully prepared to defend the territory of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem in case of Croatia's aggression, Maj.-Gen. Dusan Loncar said in Vukovar on Thursday.

The Slavonia Baranja Corps has the weapons, the combat systems, and human potential to guarantee the successful defense of the area, Loncar said.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was declared a UN Protected Area (UNPA) in April 1992. Croatia occupied the UNPA sectors north and south in an assault launched last Friday so that the Serbs now remained only in sector east, which is under the area of responsibility of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps.

Loncar said that in the past few days the Croatian forces had been attacking separtion lines as well as settlements and positions in which they believed fighters and weapons were deployed.

"They are using weapons of all calibers in the attacks and have lately stepped up attacks from multiple rocket launchers," Loncar said.

He said that troops that had taken part in the assault on western Krajina were seen moving towards the border of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srem over the past two days and that the Croatian Army was aligning itself for combat.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said on Thursday that Croatia would undertake an "action in eastern Slavonia" similar to the one in western Krajina.

Foreign Minister Granic Holds News Conference

LD1008134795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 10 Aug 95

[News conference by Foreign Minister Mate Granic with international correspondents at the Hotel Intercontinental in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Granic] Ladies and Gentlemen, I will tell you something about the fundamental reasons behind our military and political operation, Operation Storm, about the objectives of this operation, as well as, about Croatia's current international political situation and its prospects for peace. The fundamental reasons behind this military operation were as follows:

The failure of negotiations, four years of negotiations, UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] and UNCRO's [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] failure to implement its mandate, as well as the vital importance of Bihac's survival for the strategic interests of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the state of real occupation of a considerable part of Croatian territory, and the totally misguided peace process.

Croatia has not accepted the so-called Bildt package of recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbia, [including] a significant lifting of sanctions over nine months with no right of veto and without recognition of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. This means that had this package been accepted, sanctions against Milosevic would have been suspended while a considerable part of Croatian territory would have remained occupied, under Belgrade's occupation.

Something else should be noted too. The latest events, the events of the past month, following the attack of elite Bosnian Serb forces on Srebrenica and Zepa, the international community has done nothing in real terms except show its indignation and provide humanitarian aid. The Bosnian Serbs indicated they would launch attacks on Gorazde, Sarajevo, and Bihac, launching together with Croatia's Serbs heavy coordinated attacks.

This situation, even in the wake of NATO's Brussels declaration, which we welcome and which we believe helped Gorazde, did not really help Bihac in the least. The Republic of Croatia reacted by launching an intense diplomatic offensive, i.e. the Split Declaration. It consolidated cooperation between the Bosnian-Muslim people and the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Croatia.

The first results were achieved in the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] operation assisted by the Croatian Army in the Grahovo-Glamoc theater of war. The Bosnian Serbs responded together with Croatia's Serbs by declaring general mobilization and by forming a joint command body. Belgrade sent in another five generals and extra military aid for the Knin Serbs. In such a situation, when Bihac's fall was a matter of days, Croatia decided to start this operation.

What was achieved? On the one hand, effective help finally has been given to Bihac; on the other hand, we have reintegrated practically 11,000 square km of territory in the state and legal system of Croatia. In addition, we believe that [Carl] Bildt's package is dead. Together with [Bosnian Foreign] Minister Sacirbegovic, I have sent a letter to the UN Security Council rejecting this proposal. A totally new geostrategic situation has been created. Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia has been strengthened.

Yesterday and the day before yesterday, two meetings were held at the highest level in an excellent atmosphere. As you can see, there is a statement which was not difficult to articulate. Yesterday I said it had taken us three minutes to agree on this joint statement, in which we defined our view on political, diplomatic, and military cooperation.

It should also be noted that we are going to continue all our joint diplomatic activities as regards the UN Security Council and that we are absolutely open to any peace effort that has a chance of success. We are carefully examining every initiative, ranging from Hungary's initiative, Indonesia's initiative, to President Yeltsin's initiative, to which President Tudjman has replied in very clear terms, i.e. this meeting [in Moscow] has not been prepared sufficiently and he has suggested that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, should also attend this meeting.

It is with a great deal of interest that we await the arrival of Mr. Anthony Lake [U.S. National Security Adviser] and Mr. Tarnoff and new U.S. proposals, which will be discussed with the members of the Contact Group. We are interested in new proposals in new circumstances. We believe that Serbia too will accept such realities and that it will be easier to find a solution. The conflicts among the Bosnian Serbs are continuing. The state of occupation in Slavonia, part of Slavonia, Baranja and western Srijem, has further deteriorated. Belgrade is in full control of everything, this is no secret any longer, of all the military and civilian authorities.

At the moment, this area is, in practice, an area of total occupation and reintegration into Serbia. We are never going to accept this, but at the moment we are not planning to launch any military operations. We are ready for negotiations with Croatian Serbs from the occupied areas. We are also ready, with the help of the international community, as we believe that peaceful reintegration of these areas will be part of the overall peace package for the area of the entire the former Yugoslavia.

We regret all the civilian casualties. According to our reports, there is not a large number of them. Likewise, we regret the fallen UNCRO soldiers, three of them, and the British journalist, as well as any other fatality in this brief operation. It should be noted that not only has this operation landed Croatia in a completely new geostrategic situation, but this operation has practically facilitated new peace initiatives. I believe that this operation will facilitate the final establishment of a just peace in these areas.

And finally, I wish to say one more thing. As for various speculations about a Tudjman-Milosevic deal, there has been no agreement between Croatia and Serbia or between President Tudjman and Milosevic. Serbia to us is a real aggressor, against both the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia continues to occupy 4.6 percent of our territory. This is our clear answer. We hope that the new peace initiative will be accepted by everyone and that it will have much sounder foundations than Bildt's package, which we rejected.

Thank you, I am ready for your questions.

[Correspondent] Salih of WTN. Mr. Minister, were there any international pressures on Croatia in the course of Operation Storm to the effect that it should stop its operation? If so, pressure from whom? What is your comment on the fact that the international community has now opened an air bridge to Banja Luka for Serb refugees from former Krajina; whereas, Sarajevo airport has been closed for six months while its citizens are starving.

[Granic] As far as pressures are concerned, I can tell you there was less than during Operation Lightning, altogether less pressure. On the first day, there were pressures from every significant international factor for a cease-fire and resuming negotiations. As soon as the second day, they were solely focused on humanitarian issues. At this moment, a possible UN Security Council resolution, as well as the EU's position, are firmly focused solely on the issues of respect for civilians' rights, rights of refugees, respect for the international humanitarian law.

The Republic of Croatia is ready to accept such suggestions. This means full observance of international humanitarian law, the right of civilians to decide for themselves whether they are going to live in the Republic of Croatia and accept the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Croatia or leave. That must be their right, as well as the right to full protection of the Serb ethnic community in the Republic of Croatia. Unfortunately, a great number of civilians have left and are still leaving. For five years they were under the influence of heavily biased propaganda on the creation of a greater Serbia. On the other hand, it should be noted that according to Serb sources Mr. Babic put the blame on Mr. Martic for having organized the departure of the entire civilian population. That is exactly what happened.

We are trying to ensure that as large a part as possible remains. How successful we are going to be remains to be seen, but we believe there will be no significant movement of the Serb population back to Croatia until a lasting peace is reached, until peace is signed once and for all. We believe that we are close to peace.

As for your second question, we have allowed International Committee of the Red Cross flights from Zagreb to Banja Luka, in compliance with international humanitarian law. It is true, as the Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador said last night, that less care was displayed for the refugees from Zepa and Srebrenica. However, we believe that aid should be provided for every refugee irrespective of his nationality; we shall do everything to grant international organizations the right to free movement, which can be only restricted by combat operations. We will further abide by such principles.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Concerning your relationship with the mediators, can you confirm that Croatia will not negotiate with Mr. Carl Bildt. As for Stoltenberg, do you accept his statement that you are all Serbs? Did you pardon him for that? Does this mediating process have any future, after what has happened?

[Granic] As for Mr. Carl Bildt, for us he is a matter of the past. We are no longer able to negotiate with him.

As for Mr. Stoltenberg, we do not agree with his statement and we have clearly told him so, irrespective of further denials. However, our government has not adopted a decision to exclude Mr. Stoltenberg from the peace process, as far as our side is concerned. We are ready to cooperate with the international community and the conference on former Yugoslavia, but objectively speaking, given the current position of Mr. Carl Bildt. A similar assessment was made by Minister Sacirbegovic; he has no perspective for us.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Nicholas Witchell, BBC. You said you believed that this operation has secured a fair peace in the area. Why do you believe that? How much closer are you to that peace and do you believe a meeting will be necessary between President Milosevic and President Tudjman?

[Granic] I did not say it has secured peace, but that it has brought us closer to peace. I believe that. At present Croatia is in a far different political and geostrategic position.

Six years ago, five years ago, four years ago, Mr. Milosevic wanted the whole of Yugoslavia, then without Slovenia, after that he stopped on the Virovitica-Karlobag line. After that he was ready to talk peace and accept further reductions. Now he will have to reconcile himself to the fact that Croatia is a free, sovereign, and independent state within its internationally recognized borders.

At the same time, serious talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina ought to begin, taking into consideration interests of all three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course including the Bosniak Muslim nation.

[Unidentified correspondent] RAI, Trieste. You have already said, for instance, that your coalition with the Bosnians is of a strategic nature, but I am interested in knowing whether you are ready to recognize Neum [on the Adriatic coast] as being within Bosnia-Herzegovina and, in keeping with this, will Bosnia-Herzegovina guards come to the border, as we have seen on the border between the territory just liberated and Bosnia?

[Granic] Neum is part of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and traffic through Neum is regulated by the Washington Agreements, so there are no problematic issues between ourselves and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Clearly, we will try, especially with the establishment of confederal links, to see in practical terms that this is in line with what is customary in Europe, and more so, because clearly we aspire towards confederal links.

[Unidentified correspondent] Hamburg, DIE WOCHE. This grand move shows that the old Croatian saying is still valid, namely that [words indistinct]. Despite this, I am interested in the narrow and the geographical form of Croatia: What do you envisage doing, apart from these announcements, prior to this action on the implementation of the law on pardons and amnesty, etc. What else do you plan to do, in concrete terms, to help the people who have been driven out to return to Croatia?

[Granic] The most important thing is to establish, as soon as possible, complete security on the ground and establish civilian authority and all the elements of civilian authority, that is including the police, the judiciary, the whole infrastructure, and to include this area in reconstruction projects in a big way. I believe that when this first process ends, and it will be very short, after this, we will make big efforts to see that all civilians who have no connection with war crimes return, in accordance with international law.

There are an increasing number of people who are reporting to our office in Belgrade and wanting to return. You probably know that the latest report by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali says that 84 people have registered at our office, and now there are over 150. We have given them permission to return to western Slavonia, but the Belgrade authorities are not allowing them to do this. So, we will continue this process, but I personally believe that the process of return can take place on a larger scale only when a final peace solution is signed.

[Unidentified correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Granic] Communications are currently exclusively via our office in Belgrade and the Bureau of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Zagreb, and these communications are at a low level.

[Correspondent] Modric, YOMURI SHIMBUN. Mr. Minister to what extent are you aware of the latest U.S. proposal. And, in view of some intimations that it contains possible compromises relating to some elements of the future setup in the area of the former Yugoslavia, to what extent is Croatia ready to accept a compromise on three possible elements: the first is the borders; the second is the internal system in which Croatia is offering its constitutional law, and there is a possibility that further demands will be made here too; and the third is an unspecified element relating to the so-called undefined special links between individual autonomous areas and the homeland? Thank you.

[Granic] It is evident that we have been informed about the basic elements, but we did not receive any final plan, nor has it been finalized. The Americans will first examine it in London, then in Paris, Bonn, and probably in some other European cities. Only after that will talks with the Republic of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia take place.

As for territorial concessions, Croatia is not ready to talk about any territorial concessions. As for the possibility of establishing special links, this primarily refers to Bosnia-Herzegovina, not to the Republic of Croatia. As for the current situation with a possible autonomy, the Republic of Croatia maintains that the constitutional law is a framework for it, which was drawn up in line with European standards. It is ready to implement it fully and accept the international supervision of its implementation within the framework of the Council of Europe, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]; we have also accepted European monitors.

As for the UNCRO mandate in Croatia, some talks have already begun on reducing the number of UNCRO troops and redefining the mandate. It is absolutely certain that the UNCRO mandate will undergo substantial redefining.

[Foley, in English with simultaneous Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. Foreign Minister, David Foley, Voice of America. Members of the Croatian Government have said they will support the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. It has also been noted that military assistance to the Bosnian Government in the Bihac pocket will continue. How much military support are you ready to lend to the Bosnian Government and the Croatian Defense Council?

[Granic] In the Bihac pocket, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council control the entire area. As for the forms of our military assistance, our generals are talking about them. In every case, we are ready to assist them, on the basis of the Washington Agreement, the Split Declaration, and Article 51 of the UN Charter.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English with simultaneous Serbo-Croatian translation] Deutschlandfunk. Mr.

Foreign Minister, when did the Croatian Government agree to the transfer of this group of people from Krajina who are now going to Serbia? Why does it refer only to this group, and not to all those people? [translation of question as heard]

[Granic] As for the remaining part of the population, particularly from the former Sector North, this was exclusively organized by the former Serb authorities in that area, directly by Martic. We did not have any influence. They were evacuated with our having no influence whatsoever, and irrespective of appeals by the president and the Government of the Republic of Croatia, repeatedly read out on the radio, TV, and other media.

The group, having surrendered, in the presence of Mr. Akashi and his closest aides, in the presence of the International Committee of the Red Cross, had the opportunity to decide what it wanted, to stay, we distributed to them the appeals by the president to stay and had talks at different levels. Several hundred people will most probably stay. This is what I heard from Deputy Prime Minister Kostovic.

Others had the opportunity to go, they were able to choose on their own, and in Mr. Akashi's presence they decided to go to Serbia. International organizations have been present there all the time, also during the transport, and with full dignity [as heard].

[Correspondent in English, with simultaneous Serbo-Croatian translation] [name indistinct], British TV. You are talking about the redefining of the UNCRO role. What sort of role, if any, do you see for UNCRO, particularly in light of the United Nations talking about a considerable reduction in the number of troops in Croatia?

[Granic] As for UNCRO in the newly liberated areas, it can play the role of exclusively civilian observers with regard to the protection of human rights, even though we have allowed further work of European monitors. There are different possibilities for monitoring.

In Sector East we expect UNCRO to implement the mandate that was entrusted to it by UN Security Council resolutions, effective control of the borders; if this is done than they can fulfill the second part of the civilian sector [as heard].

We are negotiating at present, and it remains to be seen what the final proposal will be. We believe this redefining will take place in the next 10 days. of course, we are talking about the redefining the mandate until the current one expires.

[Unidentified correspondent] Another question in connection with the violations of the arms embargo that have been so often discussed in the media. Minister Susak said in an interview with NEWSWEEK six months ago that, perhaps this question is not directly addressed to you, but I can perhaps ask you, Minister Susak said that he could acquire on the world market everything he needed for defense. Thank goodness this is true. I would like to know to what extent Croatia has taken advantage of this situation on the world market and helped neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Granic] I believe this question would be more suitable for Minister Susak.

[Preticar] My name is Branko Preticar from San Francisco. The Republic of Bosnia is a European nation recognized by the United Nations as a sovereign state. Will any kind of division of Bosnia-Herzegovina be tolerated? My question is: Why do the world's governments not stop Slobodan Milosevic and his undeclared war? He is constantly sending troops to Bosnia. My second question: Why did the Croatian Army not go any further?

[Granic] As far as the world and Milosevic are concerned, that has been discussed at great length today. Our views on this are clear. The world neither recognized nor stopped the aggression in time, at the point when this was the easiest and cheapest solution. At the time of aggression against Vukovar, at the time of aggression against Dubrovnik, Slunj, Zadar, and other Croatian towns, no point in listing them. At this moment, however, I believe that this new reality will be accepted by the world, as this is what it respects. At least this is what we have seen so far. I believe there will be more serious talks, peace talks, and that Karadzic will no longer be allowed to reject every international plan in such an arrogant fashion.

As far as the plan, new plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, it will include territorial integrity. The question of demarcation, the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina's internal constitutional organization, this will be discussed. As far as the help of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Army is concerned, clearly, this help will be provided in strict agreement with the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the federation, only in this way.

[Unidentified correspondent] Are you aware, Minister, that in Bihac reporters have witnessed acts of retribution, people have torched houses? These acts of retribution have taken place both in Bosnian and Croatia. These were committed by Muslims but Croatian soldiers were also present there. The second question: Which operations is the HVO taking part in at the moment, in the

Bihac area, in cooperation with the Muslims in fighting Serb forces?

[Granic] As far as the Bihac area is concerned yesterday's agreement is clear. Croatian forces, forces of the Croatian Army will reach the border and stay on the border. Of course, this border with Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a soft one and we will not need a large force there.

As far as the further plans of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO in the Bihac area are concerned, they have a joint command, you have to ask them. There have been elements of revenge, and so on; we have no detailed reports. We have also heard something about this. I can, however, say on behalf of the Croatian Government that we will do our best to thwart any form of retribution. Do not forget that Bihac had been besieged for over 1,200 days and subjected to daily bombardment. It is hard to expect that everyone will behave normally. Everything should nevertheless be done to prevent any kind of retribution whatsoever. At least as far as the Republic of Croatia is concerned we are going to do everything to prevent it. Thank you.

Ambassador to UK on 'Infamous Map' Incident

BR1008130295 Madrid ABC in Spanish 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Alvaro Vargas Llosa: "Croatian Ambassador Denies Plan To Partition Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In statements made to ABC, Ante Cicin-Sain, the Croatian ambassador to London who was a direct witness of the conversation between [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman and Paddy Ashdown which resulted in the infamous map that divided up Bosnia-Herzegovina between the Serbs and Croats, revealed for the first time that Tudjman drew the "S" that divided the map, but said that the annotations were made by the liberal democrat leader.

"I was present at the meeting in Guildhall, so I am speaking as a direct witness. President Tudjman drew the dividing 'S,' but only to show how far the Serbs wanted to go, not as a reference to Croatian ambitions. The western side of the division does not imply a Croatian domain, but rather refers to an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Croatian ambassador said to ABC.

In a letter sent to THE TIMES in London, Ambassador Cicin-Sain said that Ashdown was the one who made the annotations on the basis of which it was reported that Croatia wanted to divide up Bosnia with the Serbs. However, he did not say that he had witnessed the conversation between Tudjman and Ashdown, nor that Tudjman had actually drawn the "S." In his statement to ABC, Cicin-Sain went even further, explaining that "the map belonged to Ashdown's personal datebook and, unless we believe it was the holy ghost that put it there, then we have to think that it was a campaign organized by political interests." The ambassador said that Croatia respected Bosnia-Herzegovina and that this "remained clear, in view of the Bosnian-Croatian collaboration currently taking place. The imminent integration of the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation is evidence of this. Furthermore, there is the possibility of a confederation with the Republic of Croatia."

The map is nothing new to the Croatian diplomat because it reiterates what the Bosnian Serbs want: their total separation from the rest of the population, "in other words from the Croats and Bosnians." The controversy, however, has not ended. Roderick de Normann, who was a member of an EU mission to the combat zones, said that Croatia has long had plans to stay in Bosnia, since his delegation found, in the Croatian archives in Ostjek, the so-called "Banina" plan of 1939 which set out the pattern for the division of the former Yugoslavia into eight territories. Two-fifths went to Croatia using a map "very similar to the one used by Tudjman and Ashdown." The British press and leadership class are still condemning Croatia's imperialist designs and see confirmation of their fears in the map which Tudjman and Ashdown put on a menu during a lunch that will go down in history. "THE TIMES has done something very dishonest," the Croatian ambassador said to ABC, "because immediately after saying on the front page that the map was Tudjman's, it confirmed on inside pages the participation by Ashdown, who was the one who made the annotations."

In addition, keen to slip in some statements referring to Spain, the Croatian ambassador had words of praise for the Spanish Blue Helmets in the former Yugoslavia, and said that their "dedication and effort" was "exemplary." "Their contribution in Herzegovina has been magnificent."

Deputy Views U.S. Support for Krajina Offensive

BR1008132295 Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 10 Aug 95 p 26

[Interview with Assembly Deputy Mate Mestrovic by Chantal de Rudder; place and date not given: "The United States Gave Us the Green Light"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Mestrovic is a "socialist-liberal" deputy representing the town of Zupanja, south of Knin. He gave this interview to LE NOUVEL

OBSERVATEUR the day after the Croatian forces had secured their victory.

[de Rudder] The Croatian Government in Zagreb pledged to the United Nations not to try and retake Krajina by force. And yet it did so.

[Mestrovic] It had to! There was no way of negotiating even the slightest compromise with the Serbs while they felt that it was they who were in the strongest position. They were blocking the situation. And that was untenable for us! For four years now, Croatian refugees have been packed into hotels, waiting to be able to return home. Furthermore, Krajina cut off both road and rail access from Zagreb to the Dalmatian coast. The tremendous military success that we have just scored will finally tip the balance of power around the negotiating table. You will see, the Serbs will now be less intransigent vis-a-vis Zagreb, including where Sarajevo is concerned.

[de Rudder] Yet you could have set off a chain reaction of Serbian solidarity, between Knin, Pale, and Belgrade.

[Mestrovic] To tell you the truth, Milosevic's reaction was not exactly an unknown variable. He had no means of calling for a general mobilization. And then, why hide it, in the corridors of power, it is claimed that secret agreements were concluded between Tudjman and Milosevic vis-a-vis the operation in the Krajina region.

[de Rudder] Why did you wait until this summer to launch the offensive against Krajina?

[Mestrovic] Because now was the right moment! The signal for the off was the fall of the so-called safe area of Srebrenica. The general public was horrified by the Serbs' exactions and the passive attitude adopted by the international community. It became patently obvious that the United Nations had not intention of taking action. That was when the United States gave us the green light to do whatever had to be done. We were ready. Since the war in 1991 between ourselves and the Serbs we have had time to build up a real army, which is better organized, better equipped, and capable of winning.

[de Rudder] The word is out that the United States gave you substantial assistance. Military Professional Resources Inc., a private company located in Virginia, working under license to the U.S. State Department, and comprising prestigious reserve officers from the U.S. Army, is training instructors for Croatia's military academies, advising the Croatian and Bosnian chiefs of staff on the best way in which to combine their forces, and so on.

[Mestrovic] Our victory in the Krajina region is proof of the fact that President Tudjman was right to play the U.S. card. The price of Washington's support was our consent to go ahead and form a Croatian-Muslim Federation in March 1994. For the time being this federation does not exist. In actual fact, it is confined to military cooperation with the Bosnian Muslims. Cooperation which has led to excellent results in the field. However, I do not think that the Croatian-Muslim Federation can become a viable political entity in the future. The majority of Croats are against it, particularly those in Herzegovina, who definitely want to be linked back up with Croatia and reject the idea of belonging to a mixed ethnic state together with the Muslims. Most Croats in Herzegovina feel closer affinities to the Serbs than the Muslims. And that is saying something!

Mesic: Tudjman Received U.S. 'Go-Ahead'

BR1108120495 Milan PANORAMA in Italian 18 Aug 95 p 12

[Interview with Stipe Mesic, leader of the Croatian Independent Democrats and former Yugoslav president, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Who Has Given the Go-Ahead?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PANORAMA] How do you assess the decision to reconquer Krajina?

[Mesic] It was completely legitimate. The never ending negotiations advocated by the Serbs favored only the status quo.

[PANORAMA] Why did Tudjman choose this particular moment?

[Mesic] He received the go-ahead from the United States. Tudjman can do only what the Americans allow him to do. Krajina is the award for having accepted, under Washington's pressure, the federation between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia.

[PANORAMA] What do you think of the plan to partition Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croatia and Serbia?

[Mesic] It is one of Milosevic's old ideas. At the beginning of the war Tudjman was convinced that the Serbs had defeated the Muslims. Therefore he opted for the secession of Croatian Herzegovina and the creation of the Herzeg-Bosnia Republic and pledged himself to annex it in a second move. Pressure by the United States, which opposed the partitioning, forced him to step back. Now he is concentrating on the confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and on imposing a protectorate on the Muslim territories, leaving the rest of the country to Serbia. Herzeg-Bosnia has never been dissolved: It is a wild card for the president.

[PANORAMA] Is the creation of a Greater Serbia still possible?

[Mesic] It is Milosevic's goal. But he knows that he must be patient. Karadzic, on the contrary, wants everything and quickly. However, his time is almost over....

[PANORAMA] What future do you see for Bosnia?

[Mesic] With the influx of Serbian refugees and soldiers from Krajina, Bosnia has an additional problem. There is, however, a new element that no one had foreseen: the reinforcement of Sarajevo's army. Today the Bosnians have 250,000 soldiers and U.S. support. They cannot be removed from the scene. And when the arms embargo is lifted, their revenge on the Bosnian Serbs will be only a matter of time.

Budisa on Changes in Policy Toward Bosnia

95BA0300C Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "A Time of Sobering Up Is Coming"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] You claim that official Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina has been changing for the better recently. From what can that be seen?

[Budisa] If it wants to be realistic, official Croatian policy has to realize that Milosevic has "fallen short" and that the policy of compensation in Bosnia for the reintegration of the occupied parts of Croatia is not realistic. Here I am leaving aside the issue of the morality that lies behind that policy of compensation. If people do not sober up today, after Milosevic's sending troops and weapons into the occupied parts of Croatia, while at the same time conquering Srebrenica and attacking Zepa, then it will not happen. I think, however, that the time for that sobering up is coming.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] What is your basis for drawing those conclusions?

[Budisa] I am drawing them from several conversations that I had, and also some facts that I learned recently, including during my visit to Sarajevo. Certain changes that I consider positive are occurring in the officer corps. The Croatian authorities have arrested some people who are jointly responsible for the Croatian-Bosnian Muslim conflicts in certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina and for cooperation with the chetniks. I also have a positive view of the announced Tudjman-Izetbegovic meeting, as well as the statement by our foreign minister in connection with the Serbian attack against Srebrenica.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] How do you interpret the fact that the Bosnian HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] signed the "Sarajevo statement," but the headquarters in Croatia refused to? Can the way in which it was signed be used to relativize or even reject it?

[Budisa] I do not believe that the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ representative signed the "Sarajevo statement" without approval from the HDZ headquarters. The fact that the headquarters did not sign it, however, can also be used in the way that you are suggesting.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] How do you explain the recent changes in Croatian policy?

[Budisa] Well, in addition to what I have said, there is also Croatia's deteriorated position and the uncertainty about a so-called comprehensive solution.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Some opposition party leaders with whom you traveled to Sarajevo have equally serious counterarguments. Doesn't that indicate that the Croatian leadership is conducting two policies in parallel?

[Budisa] Several counterarguments really can be presented. I think, however, that at this time it is more useful to encourage positive trends, and not concentrate exclusively on what is negative.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Rumors of dissatisfaction with the "Sarajevo statement" have already arrived from Herzegovina. How do you interpret them?

[Budisa] Anyone who calls me a restorer of Yugoslavia is probably an agent-provocateur in the service of military counterintelligence, or some other intelligence service, or else is simply a sick individual. As a rule, such accusations come from people who did well in Yugoslavia, and probably would do well in some new, restored one. Time will show whether they are the same ones who sent Dr. Franjo Tudjman a message that in the war against the Muslims he would have 10 times more volunteers than in the war against the chetniks.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] And finally, is it a change in tactics or strategy? Can one say that to some extent it is a repetition of the same situation as with the Washington Agreement? That agreement was implemented in such a way that it was obvious that Tudjman was adapting his policy to the new circumstances and that he was still trying to achieve the same goals in a new way. Where are the guarantees that this will not be repeated?

[Budisa] There are no guarantees!

HDSS Members Unite With HDZ

95BA0300A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by D. Krile: "HDSS Has Switched to the HDZ"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—After a comprehensive analysis of the party and the political, economic, and military situation in Croatia, at a meeting of the presidency of the Croatian Democratic Peasants Party [HDSS] in Kasina on 25 July, most of the members of the HDSS presidency decided on their own initiative to join the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. This was announced to reporters by the president of the HDSS, Ante Babic, at a news conference at the HDZ's main secretariat, held on Tuesday.

Former HDSS member Babic explained the decision in terms of an attempt by the followers of "the state-creating lesson of the leader and teacher of the Croatian people, Stjepan Radic, to reduce the excessive number of political parties at this critical time, and to have the majority of democratic and state-creating forces rally around the HDZ, which in 1989 conducted the struggle to achieve the sovereignty of the Croatian state." In connection with this, Babic emphasized, the members of the HDSS presidency were not seeking anything from switching to the HDZ except legal room for intensified activity in the further development of the HDZ into a stable political party, in which there would be no room for either left-wing or right-wing extremism. The HDSS presidency maintains that the views of part of the opposition, which intends to take power in the next election by creating party coalitions, while destroying the HDZ, may threaten the very survival of the Croatian state. In that context, regret was expressed over the fact that the present leadership of the Croatian Peasants Party [HSS] was announcing a coalition with parties whose programs differed from Radic's fundamental lesson.

The HDZ's chief secretary, Zlatko Canjuga, viewed the latest transfer by about 100 HDSS members to the HDZ as good, emphasizing that this action by the HDSS leadership, at their own initiative, should not be interpreted by any means as the beginning of the HDZ's "settling scores" with the HSS.

In response to a reporter's query about why he had not participated in signing the recent Sarajevo statement, Canjuga emphasized that it had been signed by a Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ representative, which also demonstrated the party headquarters' desire to have the war crisis there resolved as soon as possible. That statement, however, did not mention the concept of the Washington Agreement, nor the confederation, according to the criticism by the HDZ chief secretary, who also considered it suggestive that opposition parties whose programs had nothing in common had signed that statement "shoulder to shoulder." The federation of Bosnian Muslims and Croats must be an imperative, as demonstrated by the latest tragedy of Zepa and Srebrenica, Canjuga said, adding that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation's confederal ties with Croatia had to be the next step in achieving a comprehensive political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. He called Slobodan Milosevic's statement in his TIME interview that he had been negotiating intensively for the past 10 months with the Croatian political leadership an insinuation aimed at defaming the Croatian leadership and the HDZ.

Parties React to Negotiation Proposals

95BA0299C Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 95 pp 8-10

[Article by Zelimir Zanko: "Conditions for Negotiation, Conditions for Liberation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

HSLS: Party Resolve

Thus, in the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party] they say that the Croatian conditions have been correctly advanced. "It is not a question of our demands being realistic, but of the resolute diplomatic position being clear. The conditions have been set resolutely enough, which we like, because the Liberals have always favored a more resolute position toward the international community," says Jozo Rados, vice president of the HSLS. "However, from everything that is happening, one can conclude that Croatian policy has been tardy in setting forth that position," Rados added, supporting this by referring to the contradictory statements of U.S. officials, who on the one hand consent to continuation of the regime of lighter sanctions against Serbia, while on the other they have been saying that they know quite well that Milosevic is continuing to provide military and other aid to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and those in Croatia. According to him, it is a good line of Croatian policy to emphasize that the key to a political solution is in Belgrade, but the Belgrade position has not been harshly enough condemned with respect to responsibility for everything that has happened, that is, for the atrocities committed. All of Martic's conditions should be rejected, because any accession to these or any other Serbian demands could jeopardize achievement of our strategic objectives. "The HSLS advocates continuation of the diplomatic resolve, tardy though it may be, the pointing up of Belgrade's responsibility, the bolstering of Croatian diplomatic positions and military forces, and cooperation with the victims of Serbian aggression," Rados says.

"The HSS [Croatian Peasant Party] believes that there can be no negotiations with the war criminals in Knin nor with Milosevic. It has clearly demonstrated what its intentions are; the so-called Yugoslavia or Serbia has not recognized Croatia, so it cannot be negotiated with," says Predrag Haramija, HSS chief secretary. The main problem for the HSS is that the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] must execute its mandate. "The UN secretary general must wake up and furnish the implementing measures he is required to produce, but has not done for reasons known to himself. If the UNCRO carries out that mandate and takes up positions on the internationally recognized border of Croatia, then the international community can with its forces easily guarantee an election in those occupied areas in which the vote of the ordinary little man will be expressed and in which the team of normal people, not Belgrade puppets, will swim out, people to whom we can talk," Haramija says. He adds that the present power lords in Knin do not want to talk, nor should Croatia talk to them.

The president's position that the key to a political solution to the entire problem is in Belgrade Haramija holds to be a marginalization of Croatia. "Yugoslavia no longer exists, and the capital of Croatia is Zagreb, where the meeting should be held. Once again, Croatia should get rid of its complex of Serbia and Belgrade. Croatia is a country in Central Europe and should talk as soon as possible with the countries of Central Europe and bring about certain alliances, because Belgrade's intentions down through history have always been clear." Analyzing the position of the international community, Haramija says that it is completely clear that those countries are insisting on negotiations, because in this way the possibility is avoided of responding under the UN Charter to what the Serbs have done and are still doing, for example, in Bihac. Haramija believes that negotiations will not take place, but, in his opinion, "conversations under the table, which are said to have occurred already," are possible.

The HSP Against Negotiations

"Our stands against negotiations with the Chetniks are well known; we are not against negotiations of a technical nature, such as exchange of prisoners and the like, but political negotiations with the Chetniks are unacceptable," says Anto Djapic, spokesman of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party]. Djapic says that in its meeting the main headquarters of the HSP (which was held after this issue of HRVATSKI OBZOR went to press) will call for a complete cessation of all negotiations with the Serbs until the destiny of the missing defenders of Vukovar is known and until the office of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade is closed. "Negotiations are possible only on the foundations of achievement of full Croatian sovereignty over all parts of its territory and implementation of the Constitutional Law in the direction of speedy reintegration of the occupied territories of Croatia, that is, the laying down of Chetnik weapons and trial of the war criminals," Djapic says. Holding the behavior of Croatian diplomacy to be too soft, "allowing international forces to cross its territory with an unclear role and failing to demand exclusion from the peace process of T. Stoltenberg after his debatable statement," Djapic says that the Serbs have proven a thousand times that they will not accept peaceful reintegration. "At the very least, groups of rebels will remain there, and the Croatian Army will have to operate. Therefore, the HSP sees the solution to the entire issue in a new Operation Lightning, as well as in a strengthening of cooperation with the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

In the HNS [Croatian People's Party], they are happy about the rejection of Martic as a negotiator, saying that even today they favor peaceful reintegration, but without any doubt as to whether Croatia has the right to suppress terrorism on its soil. "We have been consistently against negotiations with the representatives of the so-called rebellious Croatian Serbs since the Erdut Agreement, and the sessions in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb, refusing to accept in any way the legitimacy of those who instead of democratic procedure, in order to guarantee the constitutionally proclaimed level of ethnic, cultural, and self-governing rights of the Serbian community in Croatia, have turned to banditry in the context of Milosevic's shattering of our republic to the glory of an expanded Serbia," says Stjepo Martinovic, secretary general of the HNS. The HNS, according to Martinovic, agrees with the assessment expressed at a meeting President Tudjman had with the cochairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, that we "are witnesses every day of a further deterioration of the situation," in which, they say at the HNS, the sterility of the policy of international institutions bears most of the responsibility. Those mediating institutions, by misreading the so-called Yugoslav crisis, have allowed metastasis of the process that from the first day has been nothing other than Belgrade's aggression against our country, and they now face the problem, as has been stated, of "concern about finding an authoritative spokesman on the part of the Croatian Serbs," Martinovic adds.

SDP: Initiative With Greater Prospects for Success

"What Croatia wants and what it needs are well known, and so is the desire of the current elite on the Serbian side. Croatia wants integrity of its internationally recognized territory, while the Serbian side, regardless of whether it is in Belgrade, Knin, or Pale, absolutely does not want that," says Davorko Vidovic, SDP [Social Democratic Party] vice president, emphasizing that realization of Croatian interests does not depend solely on the quality of the negotiators and the negotiations, but also on "an entire series of positional elements of both sides," in which Operation Lightning and the demonstration of Croatia's military might are a new positional element that "has turned Serbian control of a part of the state territory of Croatia into uncertain and temporary control, and Croatian formal law into an effective fact."

"I therefore hold that the Bildt-Stoltenberg initiative to reopen Croatian-Serbian negotiations has more prospects for success than any in the past," Vidovic says, taking note that "our firm condition that negotiations not be conducted with Martic, a certified criminal, makes the beginning of resumption of negotiations uncertain as to time."

Nor are they against negotiations with the Serbs in the IDS [Istrian Democratic Conference], where they believe that the Croatian conditions for their initiation have been properly advanced. The essential thing, however, is for Croatian diplomacy to leave itself room to maneuver so that it can reject unacceptable conditions of the international community, under whose pressure it has had to yield several times up to now. "But the identity of the negotiators is extremely important, and those who have shown hatred for the Serbs and do not know how to communicate should be dropped from the Croatian negotiating team," says Dino Debeljuh, parliamentary deputy of the IDS. But he says that it is not possible to negotiate with Martic, because this rebel leader has clearly demonstrated that he does not want negotiations in the context of Knin being a part of Croatia.

Adding that those who shape Croatian foreign policy are paying ever greater importance to Milosevic, Debeljuh does not agree with the assertion that the key to a solution is in Belgrade. He believes that the key to a solution is in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and other countries involved in the international process of resolving the issues in the former Yugoslavia.

This spectrum of Croatian political opinion concerning the negotiations initiated with the Serbs clearly shows the clear overall support given in the Croatian political parties, in spite of objections, to Tudjman's new and firmer move toward the Serbs. The shades of difference in what the critical opposition says and the occasional and understandable radicalization of the views of Croatian state policy take nothing away from the understandable support for the firmer confrontation with the Serbs. Indeed, if we add to this, as our survey shows, the prevailing opinion of the public that the UNCRO will not begin to carry out its mandate anytime soon (and the conditions will not be met for negotiations to begin), then a peaceful solution to the issue of the occupied Croatian territories actually seems exactly the way it is stated usually by the diplomats: a desirable but less likely and ever more remote way out.

[Box, p 9]

Martic's "Modest" Demand

[Unattributed interview with Milan Djukic, president of the Serbian People's Party (SNS); place and date not given]

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] How do you assess the conditions which President Tudjman has advanced for talks with the rebellious Serbs and with Belgrade?

[Djukic] If a peaceful solution is sincerely desired, then exclusiveness has to be rejected on both sides. The conditions advanced in and of themselves prejudice a possible solution, and prejudicing a possible solution never results in a solution. That approach also goes against the desire for compromise, because without a compromise there cannot be a final solution by peaceful means.

The conditions advanced by President Tudjman are almost completely unrealistic. What does it mean to initiate rail service under international supervision? That is an issue that belongs to the set of the second round of talks, which unfortunately was annulled by Operation Lightning. But that infrastructural facility would be in a position to be the cause of what happened to the limited-access highway. We issued a warning at the time that it is not realistic to enter into negotiations concerning economic cooperation without a political solution. Those economic issues could be essential to assisting the restoration of confidence between the two peoples, but they cannot be subject to a deadline, because that is a long road and will take at least five years.

Likewise, the oil pipeline is being used as an instrument of reprisal when anyone pleases, so that the constant opening and closing offers no solution at all.

As for the arrival of the UNCRO at the internationally recognized borders of Croatia, that cannot be anticipated. In political terms, that would mean that the reintegration has been completed and that there is no reason to talk about anything.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] Do you accept rejection of Martic as a possible negotiator?

[Djukic] The assessment that talks should not be conducted with Mr. Martic is extremely foolish. We should talk with everyone, and we should not be evaluating who will go before the International Tribunal for War Crimes. That should be left to time, but at this point Mr. Martic is obviously the representative of the Krajina Serbs. At the same time, it is not a correct assessment that Belgrade is the political leadership of the Serbian people in Croatia and the talks should be with Belgrade. It is true that there should be talks with Belgrade, but concerning the global issues of Serbian-Croatian relations, regulation of relations between Serbia and Croatia at the state level, and also concerning members of the respective nationalities living in the other state. But concerning the status and position of the Serbian people in Croatia, the Croatian Government and Croatian people should talk to the Serbian people in Croatia and representatives of the Serbian people. We have not denied that Milosevic has an influence on the government in Knin, but not such a decisive influence that Knin should be rejected in the negotiations.

[HRVATSKI OBZOR] What is your comment on Martic's conditions for revival of the peace process?

[Djukic] Martic's demands are rather modest. The demand that western Slavonia should be under international supervision does not threaten Croatian policy or its presence in those areas. It is certain, however, that there is no political will for anything like that. This level of functioning of the law-governed state with respect to protection of rights and freedoms will hardly make it possible for the Serbs to return to their homes in western Slavonia. When we look at western Slavonia in that light, and return is possible only with the active presence of international entities, then we will have a bit more difficulty solving the problem of eastern Slavonia. The withdrawal of Croatian units from Mt. Dinara is a matter of international assessment of what the Croatian units are doing on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are they there or not? In the sense of the danger for Knin, those units certainly should not be viewed as such an essential and difficult condition for negotiations.

The big mistake is that Croatia does not recognize that there is an outstanding issue of the Serbs in Croatia, and that is what annuls the peace process. It must acknowledge this at some point, but the price then will be high. This is the open question, this is what imposes dialogue and does not threaten the interests of Croatia as a democratic, civil, and European state, but it by no means applies to this kind of state. Along with its good points, the Constitutional Law does not solve the issue of the Serbian people in Croatia with respect to political and economic definition at the time of the decision of the Croatian people and state to leave the community which treated the Serbs in Croatia as a constituent nationality.

The Constitutional Law must be further elaborated, although its nonimplementation is making the law irrelevant even to resolving the problem of human rights.

My position is that the international community will nevertheless not tolerate the present situation and will punish differently, with stricter measures, those who attempt to seek a different road than negotiations. It is our position, then, that right now is the right time for negotiation.

Poll Views Negotiations With Serbia

95BA0299D Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 95 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Little Trust in the Serbs and UNCRO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian authorities have set three conditions for further negotiations with the Croatian Serbs (that UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] begin to carry out its mandate, that opening the oil pipeline be facilitated, and that the European Union help to open the Split-Knin-Zagreb rail line). Unless these conditions are met, they are not willing to resume negotiations. In a public opinion survey conducted for HRVATSKI OBZOR by telephone on 3 and 4 July, with a sample of 450 respondents from all the Croatian zupanijas, 80.5 percent of those polled believed good conditions were set for the negotiations, 13.3 percent thought that it is not good to set those conditions, and 6.2 percent could not judge.

The decision of the Croatian authorities that they will no longer negotiate with Milan Martic because they consider him a war criminal was supported by no less than 90.7 percent of the respondents, and only 7.1 percent were against the decision.

The assertion that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic governs the policy of the Croatian Serbs was found to be accurate by 77.8 percent of those polled, while 14 percent believed that this is not true.

In answer to the question "Do you expect that the UNCRO will soon begin to carry out its mandate?" only 9.6 percent of the respondents replied in the affirmative, while 82.2 percent thought that this will not happen soon.

We received widely varying answers to the question "How long will the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations remain in Croatia?" The largest group of respondents (26 percent) expected that they will remain until the end of the present mandate (this November), but 19.5 percent of the respondents thought that they may stay as many as five years longer.

Water Pipeline Talks With Montenegro Fail

LD1008172795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's talks at the Debeli Brijeg border crossing between Montenegro and Croatia on the supply of water to Herzeg-Novi from the Plat spring in the Zupa Dubrovacka area have not been successful. Only representatives of the Dubrovacka-Neretva County and municipal officials from Herzeg-Novi turned up, while those from Trebinje did not turn up.

(?Luka Siljeg), deputy prefect of the Dubrovacka-Neretva County, said after the talks that as long ago as last week, at the proposal of EU observer mission representatives, a document was written that guarantees to the Croatian side that the Dubrovacka-Neretva County will not be shelled, and in return repair work to the damaged water pipe will be carried out. Siljeg said today that representatives of Herzeg-Novi are proposing fresh addenda.

Eyewitness Describes Looting, Arson by Units

BR1008132495 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 9 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mon Vanderostyne: "Croats Plunder Their Way Through Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin/Gracac—Special units of the Croatian police are plundering and pillaging Krajina, while the regular Army withdraws its heavy weapons from the capital of Knin, captured on Saturday [5 August]. In the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast we found concrete evidence yesterday of Zagreb's involvement in the scorched earth policy now being applied on a large scale.

Yesterday in Ganac I talked to the lieutenant from the Croatian Delta unit, which operates at the direct orders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP]. His unit was stealing cars and loading trucks with television sets, stereo systems, boxes of shoes, extremely heavy trunks, and bags of indefinite content, all belonging to the fleeing Serbs of Krajina. I noted that behind these special units ordinary policemen were setting dozens of houses ablaze. Not a single house remained intact along the 50-km stretch between Gospic and Gracac. [passage omitted]

Homes were in flames to the left and right of the road. These were blazing fires that had been set just moments before we passed through. Entire farms with adjacent buildings were going up in flames. Poultry and pigs were running around between the sputtering flames and the exploding windows. Large pieces of roof collapsed and ceiling beams burned out from the frames of the houses. On the road lay pigs that had been run over and the carrion of a horse. The arsonists were members of the Croatian police and possibly the militias too, or else individuals working under police supervision.

Near the village of Papuca, 15 km southeast of Gospic, I saw uniformed police on a hill looking on, or perhaps surveying, the landscape. On the outskirts of Gracac I saw a group of arsonists running between houses that had just been set on fire. Two had bare torsos, while the third wore the gray-blue uniform of the ordinary Croatian police. [passage omitted]

The real reasons for these general scorched earth tactics became more evident the closer we got to the front around Knin. In the center of Gracac we encountered a special police unit from Vincovci in eastern Slavonia. They belonged to the so-called Delta force operating directly behind the front.

As was evident from the MUP arm bands they were wearing, they are supervised by the Croatian Interior Ministry. They constitute part of the police force, but are dressed in khaki uniforms. The subunits of the Delta unit stationed in Gracac are recognizable for the colored markings attached to their shoulder straps. We spoke with some of the men and one, closely cropped lieutenant identified by yellow markings.

This officer also confirmed that the Chetniks had already left that particular region several days before, but that the enemy may still set up ambushes in the forest. Men from an artillery battery belonging to the 4th Croatian Brigade told us later on that day that as recently as the previous morning they had fired a salvo from the 40 tubes of their VBR [expansion unknown] rocket-launcher at Chetniks, but when we asked them for more details the people involved appeared to be Serbian troops who were attempting to escape to Bosnia.

When asked about his assignment, the lieutenant of the special Delta unit said: "Our job is to prepare for peace here and make the transition to a civil administration. When we leave, we will be replaced by normal police officers."

His cryptic words quickly became clear in the streets of the town, where we saw his men load a blue truck marked in Cyrillic letters primarily with television sets and hi-fi units. Elsewhere in Gracac other policemen belonging to the Delta unit were busy with jumper cables, starting up cars that belonged to Krajina Serbs who had fled.

Shameful Scenes Around Knin

In the immediate vicinity of Knin, the Garda, the Army, is in power. Then come special police units under order from the Interior Ministry, who plunder apartments and maybe do other little jobs as well. After four days or so, these units hand over authority to regular police officers who then help them or not, as the case may be, to burn down houses and wipe out any traces of their activity. This mechanism is now being implemented on a large scale, including in the area that is still officially known as UN sector South. [passage omitted]

Refugees

As we approach Knin the drama associated with the refugees becomes cruelly clear. Several hundred vehicles, tractors, farm trailers, and cars have been abandoned at the roadside, all pointed toward Bosnia. Probably a large number of them ran out of gas. Possessions, clothes, and food provisions lie scattered in a muddled heap in the middle of the road, stretching for tens of kilometers.

Hundreds of cars along the route have been flattened by tanks and armored cars, and it is hard to imagine that there were military reasons for this in every case. As with the burning houses, it is clear that the Croatian Army destroyed a great deal deliberately or out of hatred.

In Knin itself several shops have been burned out, and in the vicinity of the railway station there is no difficulty in detecting traces of the fighting that took place there. A gigantic Croatian flag flutters from the town's citadel, where staff belonging to the Western humanitarian aid establishment shuffle along to take pictures, like true sensation-seeking tourists, above all, of themselves.

Serbs Claim Genocide in Krajina

BR1008131495 Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 9 Aug 95 p 2

[Report on an interview with Vladan Skoric, Serbian representative in Denmark, by Charlotte Aagaard; place and date not given: "Croatia Accused of Genocide"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Croatia has committed genocide in the Krajina region. That is the allegation from Belgrade following the flight of the entire population of the Krajina enclave.*

"Croatia's objective is to conquer ethnic Serbian areas, but without the Serbs who live there. That is ethnic cleansing and genocide," Serbia's representative in Denmark, Vladan Skoric, said. "Europe has not witnessed anything like it since World War II. Virtually the entire population of Krajina, nearly 300,000 people, fled with nothing other than the clothes they were wearing. Precisely like what happened in Nazi Germany," he went on.

[Aagaard] Have you any proof of this?

[Skoric] Croatia broke all humanitarian rules of warfare. Of this there can be no doubt. There are 300,000 refugees. Is that not proof enough? I cannot imagine that even one Serb would dare to have remained behind in Krajina.

[Aagaard] But what about massacres or systematic attacks on civilians?

[Skoric] There have been many instances of this. First of all, the Croats bombarded the civilian population in the towns in Krajina. This is a clear violation of international rules. Secondly, Bosnian Government troops from Bihac committed genocide, and two Croatian aircraft bombarded refugees in Bravsko, near Banja Luka. Officially, five people were killed, but according to my information there were 128 victims of the attack. [end Skoric]

His information on air attacks on the refugees could not be confirmed, but UN mediators reported on Monday that a column of refugees southeast of Banja Luka had come under mortar fire.

Furthermore, on Tuesday the UN High Commissioner for Refugees reported that a similar attack on refugees had taken place in the vicinity of the town of Bosanska Novi, and that an unknown number of refugees had been injured.

Meanwhile, later on Tuesday the UN spokesman in Zagreb told the British REUTER news agency that this had probably been an accident.

Ukrainian UN troops also reported on Tuesday that six villages in Krajina had been set on fire by units belonging to the Bosnian Government's Army which had crossed the border to help their Croatian allies snuff out the last pockets of Serbian resistance.

Open Borders

On Monday and Tuesday a large proportion of the refugees from Krajina were heading directly for Belgrade. According to the international news bureaus approximately 25,000 of the roughly 15,000 refugees have already crossed the border into Serbia.

Vladan Skoric believes that many more will follow.

"We expect a very large proportion of the refugees to come to Serbia because many of them have family there," he said before going on to confirm that Belgrade has considered keeping the border open for any refugees who might wish to enter the country.

On Tuesday, sources at the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade confirmed rumors that the Bosnian Serbs were only letting women, children, and old people leave Bosnia.

Men Capable of Bearing Arms Have To Stay

All men capable of bearing arms are being forced to remain on the Bosnian side of the border, probably so that they can be enlisted into the Bosnian Serbs' ailing Army.

Skoric said he knew nothing about this, and would definitely not ask the Krajina refugees to stay in Bosnia and fight.

"We are opposed to all military action in Bosnia. That is also why we have broken off all links with the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic," he said. Instead, Belgrade is pinning its hopes on the Bosnian Serbs' military commander, General Mladic, who is thought to be more favorably disposed toward a negotiated solution.

Refugees 'Mistreated' in Sisak

AU1008155995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report by Dragoslav Kosaric]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since 1400 [1200 GMT] yesterday, the Croatian police have closed the Zagreb-Belgrade highway for traffic, so that the refugees from Kordun and Banija only reach Serbia by the shortest route on the basis of an agreement reached yesterday between Kordun Corps Commander Cedo Bulat and General Stipetic, deputy head of the Croatian Army General Staff. Due to the increasingly dramatic situation and uncertain destiny of 50,000 refugees around Topusko, Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the peace conference for the former Yugoslavia visited Zagreb yesterday. According to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the first refugees crossed over into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at about 0300 in the morning. At 0730 this morning, about 5,500 Serbs crossed over from Croatia in three columns along the highway.

Although they set off from Topusko at about midnight, however, according to a report we received from UNPROFOR Command, the refugees were mistreated and harassed along the highway. The crudest form of mistreatment took place when they passed along Skolska Ulica in Sisak. According to what we were told at UNPROFOR Command, it was an organized act of violence against the refugees. All lights were off in the street. These hapless people, already physically and psychically exhausted, were brutally pulled out of their cars, beaten, and mistreated. Fortunately, nobody was killed, although this was a humiliating and uncivilized act.

The Croatian police did not intervene in these cases, only when EU or UNPROFOR observers would come. In such late-night hours, preschool children, full of hatred against Serbs, stoned cars. On this occasion, several cars were set on fire when Sisak citizens, as the police officially claim, poured cooking oil and petrol in the street in order to cause crashes among the cars in the column.

One should say here that it was precisely in Sisak that many Serb citizens of the city have been liquidated since 1992, overnight, without a court or a verdict, and their bodies thrown into the Sava River. On this part of the route, Croatia has obviously not complied with the agreement that obliges it to take care of the refugees' security and dignity.

The highway is still closed to traffic. After the murder of a colleague from BBC, journalists are forbidden movement in the territory of the already former Serb Krajina today. Although the Croatian side says in its official announcement that the journalist was killed by the Serbs, UNPROFOR announced today that there is no doubt that Croatian Army members shot at him at close range while he was lying on the ground.

Although Croatia claims that Operation Storm has ended, one Banija Corps battalion is still keeping control over Dvor na Una. Six tanks have been deployed in the center the of this little town, and some 600-700 troops are controlling positions. UNPROFOR has no access, so one cannot say with certainty what their role is at the moment when the refugees are leaving Banija.

Martic Chairs Banja Luka Meeting, Departs

LD0908202095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—At a meeting of the crisis headquarters of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] held in Banja Luka today, which was chaired by Krajina President Milan Martic, it was concluded that the headquarters' main task is the accommodation of the displaced population.

Martic undertook to gather together soldiers from the RSK in order "to set about the liberation of Serb territory."

A statement was issued by the crisis headquarters in Banja Luka which says that the RSK president left the meeting after its conclusion and departed for the liberated southern part of Krajina.

Rajko Lezajic, speaker of the RSK Assembly, has been appointed chairman of the crisis headquarters, and other members are: a representative of the office of the president of the republic, members of the government, the commissioner for refugees, the secretary of the Red Cross, and members of the assembly of municipalities and executive councils.

Background on Krajina Serb Leaders

95BA0299B Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 95 p 11

[Article by Milan Jelovac: "Who Are the 'Negotiators'?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the economic and political negotiations with the rebellious Croatian Serbs resume in the quite near and even foreseeable future, one question, seemingly the most important, is unavoidable, with whom to negotiate? This is quite logical, because whose signature on the Serbian side would be a commitment to fulfillment of possible agreements?

Whom can the rebellious Serbs of Knin offer as a worthy rival in the political and diplomatic search for a peaceful solution if that does, in fact, occur? Martic, Babic, Jarcevic, Mikelic? The long-ago rejected Hadzic? Or, finally, some altogether new person?

It nevertheless seems that the disunity of the holders of power in Knin is so evident that it is difficult to suppose that the self-styled Serbian leaders can agree at all on the name of the top person in their negotiating team, especially because a consensus cannot be achieved even on considerably more insignificant things. Can the radical political elite, which, after the downfall of the "moderate" Borislav Mikelic, is now in power, change its well-known radical negotiating position, diametrically opposite to the Croatian strategic option of peaceful reintegration? And in that context offer negotiators with credibility?

In order to create a more complete picture, it is of interest to scan the biographies of the leaders of the rebellious Croatian Serbs, the "politicians" among whom we need to search for the possible principal Serbian negotiator with the legal Croatian authorities!

Milan Martic will certainly not be the one, because Croatia, when it recently stated its conditions for resumption of negotiations, declared very decidedly that it was not willing to negotiate with Martic, who has already been sentenced to 15 years of prison in Croatia, is listed as a war criminal, and is responsible for the missiles fired on the center of Zagreb. To be sure, that 41-year-old junior police inspector born in Zagoric near Knin never even consented to direct negotiations with Zagreb, but has always turned that over to his subordinates, first Jarcevic, then Mikelic.

Until 1976, Martic was employed as a semiskilled worker in the Knin Screw Factory (Tvik), and after that he became a policeman in the Public Security Station in Sibenik. In early 1982, after improving his qualifications in Zagreb, he returned to Knin as a junior inspector and became chief of the local police station. A little-known detail is of interest to the general public: The top policeman in the Krajina graduated from the junior college for internal affairs in Zagreb with a grade average of only 2.26! During 1990, he organized the "spontaneous" arming of the Serbs there with weapons from the arsenal of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Serbia and what then was the TO [Territorial Defense] and blockade of the highways and railroad line around Knin. After the famous barricades were set up, Martic established Serbian police stations in the nearby opstinas of Obrovac, Benkovac, Gradacac, Korenica, and Donji Lapac. That was the beginning of the Serbian armed rebellion.... Martic then became "police minister" of the self-styled SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] Krajina, and then "defense minister," and he promised to include in the phantom SAO Petrinja, Karlovac, and Zadar. After that, he collided with Babic, "broke through" the Sava Valley corridor, and in the second half of 1993, with support from Milosevic, he won the "election for president." He promised unification with Serbia no later than the end of 1994....

Milan Babic is today "foreign minister" of the self-proclaimed government of the quasi-state. This anonymous dentist swam into political life in 1990 as the head of Raskovic's SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], one of the creators of the Serbian secession and the armed rebellion in Croatia. Until 1991, Babic was "president" of the SAO Krajina, but after the Benkovac assassination attempt against him, he collided with Martic and then also with Milosevic. His "presidency" ended in early 1992 in Milosevic's office, when in spite of physical coercion he refused to accept the Vance Plan. At that time, according to his subsequent statement, Yugoslav General Blagoje Adzic tried to persuade him that the Vance Plan was "just what the Serbs needed," pressing his argument by pulling his ears and shouting "They will murder us all, you dumb ox!" Babic then became mayor of Knin, a fierce political opponent of Martic and Hadzic, who at that time were on Milosevic's team. After he established his own party, the Krajina SDS, which became the majority party in the self-proclaimed parliament, he also became the "foreign minister." He was the chief of the Serbian negotiating team, but he persistently refused to go to the Zagreb airport Pleso, where the exhausting negotiations of economic issues took place. According to assessments of many analysts, Babic does have negotiating credibility for at least two reasons. The first reason is that he is the first trans-Drina Serb to have ever confronted Milosevic. In the opinion of many, he is an extremely stalwart negotiator and one of the most uncompromising advocates of Serbian secession. The other reason is the assessment that the ultimate unraveling of Croatian-Serbian relations no longer brooks delay.

Borislav Mikelic has been pushed aside. This "moderate negotiator," as they had a habit of calling him earlier, signed the economic agreement and fiercely criticized Martic and Celeketic, directly accusing them of being principally responsible for the Croatian military-police operation Lightning. A man with good connections in the Milosevic cabinet, who today, along with nine men of like mind, "deputies in parliament," is doing everything to prevent separation of the occupied areas of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem from the self-proclaimed Krajina. Former director of Gavrilovic in Petrinja, a graphics engineer by trade, he was one of the principal suppliers of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] with smoked meats, thanks above all to his connections with Admiral Branko Mamula, a fellow countryman, but also in cooperation with Yugoslav Gen. Ljubomir Domazetovic, who allegedly gained his general's rank doing business with Gavrilovic.

The next of the short series of castoffs is former "president" Goran Hadzic. This former warehouseman from Pacetin replaced Milan Babic in 1992; he was Slobodan Milosevic's man. He was removed because of numerous embezzlements and the plundering of forests in Slavonia and Baranja, as well as oil smuggling. After the fall of Borislav Mikelic, he was resurrected, and at the moment he is Mikelic's political ally. No negotiating experience.

And finally, there remains Slobodan Jarcevic. This 50-year-old man is a signatory of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement. He held the position of "foreign minister" of the self-proclaimed Krajina. Today, he is representative of the "Krajina office" in Belgrade. Jarcevic advances conditions for normalization of overall Croatian-Serbian relations. In his opinion, just imagine, "the Croats should renounce the doctrine of Ante Starcevic, the Croatian parliament should renounce the NDH [Independent State of Croatia], and, finally, President Tudjman should go to Jasenovac and pay homage to the victims of the war...."

These, then, are just little snapshots that, we hope, will vividly evoke the mosaic of the rebellious Serbian side with which negotiations would have to take place on a political solution and peaceful reintegration of the occupied areas. And the Croatian delegation, judging from these details, will have to show patience in the negotiations. If there are any negotiations at all.

U.S. Denial of Ethnic Cleansing Criticized

LD1008165795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Commentary by Vladimir Resetar]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 10 (TANJUG)—When U.S. officials designated Bosnian Serbs as the main protagonists of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina they listed satellite photographs as one of the arguments in support of their claim.

Judging by the U.S. Ambassador in Zagreb Peter Galbraith and State Department spokesman David Johnson, for whom the expulsion of the Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina is not ethnic cleansing, the satellite has been either broken or has disappeared in outer space since it is unable to record the exodus of over 200,000 Serbs from Krajina.

Galbraith said that Croatia's aggression was not ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing is, according to him, a practice behind which stands Belgrade and which is committed by the Bosnian Serbs who drive out local Muslims and Croats by force and terror.

Johnson said that ethnic cleansing is defined as a government policy of driving people from their homes whether they wanted to leave or not. He said the Serbs were leaving Krajina because "they believe that there might be a lack of safety."

Galbraith seems to think that ethnic cleansing is one of the national characteristics of the Serbs that Croats and Muslims could not possibly have, while Johnson thinks that the Krajina Serbs were wrong to feel insufficiently safe under the rain of Croatian shells and rockets in their destroyed and torched towns and villages.

Were the planes that bombed and machine gunned refugee columns supposed to convince them to turn back and head for home.

One of the main actors in the creation of the new independent state of Croatia Josip Manolic went, as expected, even further than the Americans, when he told the Zagreb daily GLOBUS that in Krajina they were witnessing ethnic self-cleansing for the first time in world history.

What can be said about such cynicism except that it is really unheard of in the history of the wrold.

To make matters worse, the United States has launched hasty diplomatic moves aimed at presenting the international community with a fait accompli, like in western Slavonia, and erasing the traces of atrocities as soon as possible.

The indecisivness of the United Nations about what steps to take considering changed conditions in one of their "protected areas" go in support of this.

The peacekeepers' announced withdrawal from the area and reports that soume countries are already preparing their troops to return, indicate that the situation can be legalised.

Tudjman's government machinery has already been set into motion to populate the Serb ethnic territory by Croats even if it has to bring them from Australia to do it.

The majority of countries which have understood what is being done should stand up to prevent this. If they do not, they will be, consciously or not, supporting the policy of war and violence, the policy of mass ethnic cleansing conducted by Tudjman, and they will eventually be judged by history for their inaction.

Comment on Government Decision To Fight Crime

AU1008184095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by J. Dzockov: "Real Intentions or Alibi?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By opening a large front and a continued struggle against organized crime, the government announced its intention to stand in the way of this social evil. In adopting the program for prevention of organized crime and defining the basic principles in five fields, the government has apparently decided to ameliorate its reputation with the public and the people.

According to the minister of justice, everything that is happening to us and everything that was said at the news conference following the latest session of the government when these problems were discussed is not at all naive. The problem of crime and corruption seriously endangers the democratic processes in the state. According to Vlado Popovski [minister of justice], the society of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is among those that have a stable social and political order and a low rate of crime, although there are indications that there are roots of organized crime, particularly concerning drug addiction, money laundering, and so on.

The decision of the government to start a struggle against organized crime and the statement of the minister of justice give rise to two essential questions. Is the government definitely confessing that there is organized crime in the country, and is it now trying to provide an alibi for all previous failures in this field? Only recently, through one of its ministers, the government reacted strongly to the claims of one of the police leaders who said that there is organized crime in our country. If the institutions of the system had worked the way they should have, is it now necessary to make a campaign in the struggle against organized crime and form special bodies and commissions that will discover it? Actually, this is a constitutional duty of the institutions of the government, particularly the police, which are equipped with personnel and techniques for detecting all deviations in society, particularly organized crime. Was the reason for this perhaps its need to justify itself and admit its incompetence—that is, mistrust in its own mechanisms?

Regardless of the government's motives for announcing a large and continued action against organized crime, it has to be assisted and supported. There is an even greater need for the formation of a state body, independent of the government and ministries, which will make analyses and investigations and inform the public about corruption in the whole administration and the public services, including the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. Such a body has to be formed without delay. The most important thing concerning this body is who will compose it. Its members will have to be totally independent and thus enjoy the citizens' confidence in order to be able to declare all of their remarks, views, and conclusions without fear of being exposed to repercussions.

The greatest attention at the news conference was attracted by the words of the justice minister, who said that it is "indispensable to involve the mass media in the struggle against crime." Can this statement be understood as a "task" given to the journalists by the government or as a lapse by the minister? The mass media were conscientiously performing their duties when organized crime, corruption, bribery, obscure financial deals, sale of social properties, and so on were reported. All of this was done within limitations because the sources of information were usually closed to the journalists. If the government is now calling for cooperation in the prevention of organized crime, it will have to be more open, together with its institutions, about what is going on and about what the journalists should write. On the contrary, the duty of the journalists will be taken in a wrong way—that is, that they have to discover the anomalies, after which the competent bodies should prove their accuracy.

The government has assigned itself a responsible and complex task. It is clear that the struggle against organized crime and corruption in the administration and the public services, as well as drug trafficking and so on, is not at all an easy job to do. However, it is the best way, if all this is prevented, for the authority—that is, the government—to increase the people's confidence and punish all those who violated the laws.

Russian, U.S. Stands on Balkan Conflict Viewed

WS1008115395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Aug 95 pp 4-5

["Analysis" by Dawid Warszawski: "The Kremlin's Balkan Whist: Boris Yeltsin's Dictate and Bill Clinton's Backbone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"None of the dogs in this fight is ours," said Secretary of State James Baker in 1991 commenting on the Yugoslav conflict and thus explaining Washington's unwillingness to support any of the sides.*

Other superpowers took a similar stance at the time. Germany opted for Zagreb; Paris and Moscow sympathized, rather, with Belgrade; and Washington was for Sarajevo. Initially, these were only options, not alliances.

Lukewarm Allies

The unwillingness of the superpowers to get involved in the conflict was a blessing for those who were winning and a curse for those who lost this war. There was no danger—or hope—that an outside intervention would alter what had been settled on the battlefield. Both Bosnia and Croatia felt that for years. Their foreign allies failed to force the Serbs to forfeit a single kilometer of the seized territories.

Russia's involvement on Serbia's side also did not bring any settlement. While the Serbs were victorious on the war front, Moscow obstructed detrimental initiatives toward the Serbs on the part of the international community, but occasionally even tried to curb Serbian aspirations on its own. "They must understand Russia cannot be treated like some banana republic!"—said an outraged Vitaliy Churkin last year in February after Karadzic had again failed to keep his promises.

The current defeat of the Krajina Serbs radically changed all that. By calling the presidents of Croatia and Serbia to Moscow, Boris Yeltsin is giving Zagreb—although in truth it is Washington—an ultimatum. He is saying: "I am the one who decides what the results of the Balkan wars are to be."

Milosevic's Lucky Break

Milosevic, naturally, does not have to be persuaded to come to Russia. An invitation from President Yeltsin—an exception to the informal boycott of the Serbian leader—is a very lucky break for him. For Tudjman, on the other hand, a visit to the capital of the Serbian allies would be equal to capitulation. He will go only if Washington demands that he go.

Washington has thus been placed with its back against the wall. The Americans have thus far implemented their Balkan policy via third parties. They wanted to attain their objective of holding back and punishing the Serbs through the UN, simultaneously refusing to be a part of the on-site UN forces. When these tactics proved completely ineffective, Washington decided to lend its active support to the Sarajevo-Zagreb coalition.

Croatia obtained full military and political support in its counterattack. Apart from Germany, the United States was the only country to applaud successive Croatian victories. Yet Russia, which is trying to revive its imperialist ambitions, cannot come to terms with either the defeat of its local allies or the triumph of the Western allies a mere several hundred miles away from its borders.

Who Greets the Russians Like This?

The alliance with the Serbs has more than just political import for Moscow. It is enough to remember the unusual enthusiasm with which the Serbs greeted the Russian units of the UN forces that arrived near Sarajevo in February 1944. Armed Russians are not greeted like this anywhere outside their country, perhaps even within it for that matter.

Where To Be a Superpower

Moscow cannot waste the capital of social sympathy. What would the more strategic-minded allies count on if Russia let down the Serbs? It is worth mentioning that relations between the Germans and Croatia are evolving in a similar way — although, unlike Moscow, Bonn cannot lend military support to its allies.

Apart from the above considerations, geopolitical conditions are no less important. The Russians have a growing sense of being surrounded. NATO is unrelentingly encroaching from the West; China and Japan continue to pose a threat from the east; the wound of the Afghan defeat is still bleeding; and the time bomb in the Caucus is still ticking in the south. Russia has to show it still remains a superpower somewhere. Yeltsin chose the Balkans.

Will Washington Be Firm?

The fate of the Croatian victory is now being decided in Washington. The United States cannot let down its ally, yet it still remains uncertain whether it will confront Russia on its ally's account, especially as Russia can count on the silent support of London and Paris and the overt support of China in the UN Security Council. The United States would be thus forced to overrule the Russian motion to impose sanctions on Croatia, to veto it. NATO is endangered by an internal rift.

NATO's European allies claim that since the Serbs were allowed to win the war anyway, it must now be brought to an end as soon as possible. The Croatian victory has opened a new series of battles in which French and British—but not U.S.—soldiers will continue to die. Europe, and not the United States will have to carry the burden of Russia's discontent.

Washington has already set a precedent of putting the unity of NATO at risk in defense of a local ally in Israel.

The alliance with Jerusalem, however, was sealed with treaties as well as the influence of the Israeli lobby in Washington. Zagreb's position is not that strong. The most Tudjman can hope for is that Bill Clinton decides to prove he does not need a backbone transplant.

Oleksy Declines To Explain Extension Proposal

LD1008115495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1118 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Aug (PAP) — "The prime minister cannot accept the expectation from him to explain all insinuations connected with the proposal to extend the present presidential term of office by two years, as he is neither a party nor a creator of the circumstances surrounding the issue," said government spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska speaking to PAP. She was commenting on the presidential spokesman's statement concerning today's conversation between Lech Walesa and Jozef Oleksy.

Jakubowska also said that during the private conversation between the president and the prime minister on 13 July "the president did not touch on any issue concerning extending the presidential term of office by two years."

Walesa Opposed

LD1108103895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0748 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 11 Aug (PAP) — Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski confirmed today that President Lech Walesa is not interested in an extension of his term of office by two years. "In the current situation - absolutely not," he said in an interview for Polish radio. According to Spalinski, the extension of the presidential term of office would make sense only if earlier parliamentary elections are held. He said: "We should try to correlate the parliamentary and the presidential terms of office and have both elections held as soon as possible."

Spalinski denied remarks made by Danuta Waniek, head of Aleksander Kwasniewski's [Democratic Left Alliance] presidential campaign, alleging that during a June meeting of the National Defense Committee the president had demanded the extension of his term of office.

Geremek Said Behind Idea

LD1008194895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidency candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski, has let it be known that Bronislaw Geremek was the initiator of the idea to extend President Lech Walesa's presidency by two years. In an interview for the Radio Information Agency Aleksander Kwasniewski said that Bronislaw Geremek had come out with such a proposal in June. The SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] leader added that he was skeptical about this idea.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] It was Professor Bronislaw Geremek. There was a serious witness to this conversation. I remember that I expressed my principal doubts about this idea. Stanislaw Ciosek after all also refers to opinions of politicians connected with the Freedom Union. [end recording]

'S' Wants Walesa Out, Might Support No One

WS1008142495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by Jerzy Rembalski from RADIO GDANSK: "'Solidarity' Appeals: One Candidate on the Right"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The independence-Solidarity camp should field a joint candidate by 15 September. Otherwise, Solidarity will probably not lend its support to any of the hopefuls. As RZECZPOSPOLITA has learned from unofficial sources, the union leaders want to persuade President Lech Walesa not to run in the elections. The incumbent president would head a new political camp centered around Solidarity and win presidential elections held in two years' time.*

The debate on the upcoming presidential elections dominated the session of the Solidarity National Council in Gdansk. The unionists are distressed over the preelection conundrum on the right of the political scene. In an official statement, all presidential hopefuls wishing to win the union's support were called upon to enter talks immediately and field a single candidate. Widely respected authorities on moral issues are to mediate, particularly representatives of the church. Solidarity chairman Marian Krzaklewski announced he is to meet with Pri[illegible] Jozef Glemp over the next few days to discuss the issue. The current condition of the independence-Solidarity camp was described as a "deepening rift and growing conflict caused by the lack of an authentic, rational dialogue. This only leads to the growing influence of the ex-communists." The union leaders expect that a joint candidate will be fielded by 15 September. If not, Solidarity will probably not support anyone in the elections. "They should either reach an agreement or get the hell out," said head of the Lower Silesian Chapter Tomasz Wojcik in the discussion.

The National Council of Solidarity rescheduled the strike referendum on the privatization and commercialization law for 30 September. "We made the decision because the president appealed against the law to the Constitutional Tribunal. We will wait for the ruling. Preliminary results of the referendum indicate that a huge majority of unionists are against that law," said National Council Spokesman Piotr Zak.

Candidate Olszewski Interviewed About Platform

WS1008141595 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with presidential candidate Jan Olszewski, by Piotr Jakucki; place and date not given: "I Am the Only One Who Knows How To Get Poland Out of the Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] **[Jakucki] What is your program?**

[Olszewski] It is the Program of Repairing the Polish State, based on the Civil Constitution Draft. I was one of the persons who worked on the draft. The most important points of this program are as follows:

* mass enfranchisement of the people,

* re-privatization carried out to the largest extent possible,

* file-checking that would make it possible to retrieve the assets appropriated by communists and governments of communist liberals,

* reconstruction of the Polish domestic market and the competitiveness of our industry.

Let us now look at the program from a different point of view. The thing that helps assess the value of a program is the extent to which its opponents perceive it as a threat. Adversaries of my Program of Repairing the State are so much afraid of it that so far it has not even appeared in the press, even as a paid ad. [passage omitted]

[Jakucki] What will you do as president to help Poland really regain its independence?

[Olszewski] It is necessary to change internal policy in such a way as to really secure the conditions of the state's independence. One of its elements will be a reform of the special services, which should be apolitical and guard the national interests; they should also cease to be a tool in the fighting among various political factions.

I Am Not Counting on Elites, but on People

[Jakucki] Who is supporting you, aside from the organizations which voted for you in Sulejowek? Those seven parties are probably too small to ensure you the highest office.

[Olszewski] In this campaign I am not counting on considerable support from party elites. They have forsaken the nation and are pursuing their own private goals. This is why I expect support not from the so-called political class but from the ordinary voters: workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia. The polls conducted by "Solidarity" ["S"] structures indicate that I really can count on support there. [passage omitted] *Rivals? They Want Another Polish People's Republic*

[Jakucki] What is the difference between your candidacy and that of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz?

[Olszewski] The most fundamental difference is that I have a real program of how to get Poland out of the crisis and give a chance to the people.

The outline of the concept of the presidency as presented by Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz can hardly be termed rightist. It is a continuation of the round table agreement. I would call it "a presidency above divisions"—that is: an enriched version of Walesa's "presidency of all Poles." Now, it is this presidency that has led Poland to the current crisis. On the one hand, we have a tiny elite who have made careers and big money thanks to their connections in the apparatus of power, and on the other hand, there is the majority of the people, who no longer have any privileges and who have been relegated to the margin of poverty.

[Jakucki] You said that Professor Strzembosz is the closest to you...

[Olszewski] I consider him to be a very serious candidate for some circles of the so-called right wing. He is certainly a man with clean hands; he has done great services to "S." However, as I see it, he has not provided solutions to a number of problems that are tremendously important to Poland today.

[Jakucki] What about Lech Walesa? The president is being strongly and actively supported by part of the Christian-National Union. They consider him to be the candidate who can unite the right wing.

[Olszewski] Lech Walesa, or his activities, did not prove his "right wing character," which is being stressed so strongly today. His presidency was a treason of the electorate—five years of consistently supporting the "left leg"and building a transitional and bizarre structure, something between the Polish People's Republic [PRL] and the third Republic [the current Republic]. One thing is certain: This will be a candidacy that will drive a wedge in the rightist electorate and this is why the incumbent president may be the biggest problem—not for the post-Communists, but for the right wing.

Agriculture Based on Families, Not on Big Farms

[Jakucki] The results of the elections may depend on how people in rural areas will vote. The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has for some time now been talking about protection of the Polish market. What can you offer to the countryside to persuade those people to vote for you?

[Olszewski] The Polish countryside must be based on family farms. At this point, my program quite essentially differs from the solutions that PSL Agriculture Minister Roman Jagielinski is trying to implement. He is supporting the idea of large farms. I simply exclude such a model as detrimental to Poland.

Compared to Western agriculture, the Polish countryside has less mechanical equipment. It uses less artificial fertilizers. On the eve of inevitable confrontation with the EU, this weakness should be turned into an advantage. I suggest that we support ecological agriculture that would produce natural foodstuffs, which are immensely popular in Western Europe today. Agriculture in the West is no longer capable of producing such food. Their soil is saturated with artificial fertilizers. This offers a chance for us to sell our products on Western markets. This is also a chance for our processing industry to regain a good condition.

A different story is the protection of our ability to produce enough food for the people, which is just as important to our sovereignty as a strong army. Polish agriculture must be able to, in crisis situations, provide food for the population.

Peasants accept my program. Representatives of a number of the largest regional circles of the Rural "S" have backed my candidacy. [passage omitted]

Being in the Army Involves Service, Not Drinking and Degeneration

[Jakucki] The left wing is proposing to military cadres, mostly with a PRL origin, that they keep the positions they have acquired. What do you say to that? How do you intend to persuade the Army to vote for you, aside from the promise to supply the Army with equipment made mainly in Poland?

[Olszewski] The Polish Army is falling apart. Organizational chaos and material downfall are all-pervasive. As we have seen recently, anyone can enter military grounds, steal firearms of the entire military unit, and then calmly leave. Such places are often guarded by private security companies run by former Communist special services functionaries. Drunken soldiers beat up their colleagues on the streets. From here there is only one step to a complete degradation of the institution established to protect the country's independence. The Army involves service to the state, as well as to the people and the government, a service where clear-cut moral and ethical criteria must be observed. Before World War II, if a drunken officer showed up somewhere in public, it spelled the end of his military career. Today drunkenness is considered a normal thing. This attitude must be changed.

We must have our own, well-organized system of state protection. Meanwhile, we still have remains of the Warsaw Pact era. From the point of elementary security principles, this is unthinkable. [passage omitted] Officers must be ensured decent moral and material conditions in which they are able to serve their country. This is difficult to imagine in a situation when nearly one-fourth of the budget is earmarked for retirement pensions for military dignitaries of the PRL. [passage omitted]

Inquiry Into Political Coercion of Soldiers

WS1008140795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 1

[Report by Jerzy Jachowicz and Pawel Wronski: "On the Track of Signatures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Politics in the barracks: Yesterday, [Interior] Minister Andrzej Milczanowski established a special commission made up of officers from the Control and Supervision Inspectorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] to investigate the operation of "signatures upon orders" at the Vistula Military Units that are subjected to MSW.*

In recent issues of GAZETA WYBORCZA we reported on cases of soldiers' being forced to sign their names on lists of supporters of Lech Walesa for president in three Vistula units: Czerwony Bor, Gora Kalwaria, and Warsaw, where salaries were not paid unless the list was signed. An officer who asked to remain anonymous told us yesterday of a fourth attempt: in Linin, near Gora Kalwaria. Major Krzysztof Kubiciel is said to have forced soldiers to sign their names on the lists following direct orders from Vice Admiral Marek Toczek, chief commander of the Vistula Military Units. He threatened commanding officers they would not get their "monthlies" [bonuses]; enlisted men were promised additional furloughs and holidays.

Yesterday morning, Vice Admiral Marek Toczek was summoned by the minister of internal affairs.

The Union of Labor is demanding that a special commission be established to investigate the issue. "It will make sense only if the commission has the same interrogative authority as the Office of the Prosecutor," says Deputy Artur Smolko, who disclosed the whole signature affair. "This operation violates the law, and the signatures that have been collected are void," Andrzej Cubala, spokesman of the Ministry of Justice, said yesterday.

The defense minister, however, firmly states that no canvassing for votes is taking place in the Armed Forces he oversees. "Such was the agreement reached at the meeting held with President Walesa at the General Staff last May."

Walesa, Minister Comment

WS1108102195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by Jerzy Jachowicz and Pawel Wronski: "What Is Going On In the NJW?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The president admitted yesterday that signatures in support of his candidacy in the elections were collected in the Vistula Military Units [NJW] of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The NJW commander claims he knows nothing about this.*

"It was a spontaneous operation and there is hardly anything wrong with it," explained Lech Walesa when journalists inquired about collecting signatures at the International Jamboree of the Polish Pathfinders Union. He added this was exclusively the private initiative of individual officers.

While the president was meeting with the Pathfinders, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski was handing out medals and awards to NJW soldiers at Polish Armed Forces Day celebrations.

"We must observe the principle of not involving the Armed Forces in politics," he stressed. "All exceptions lead to lamentable effects."

The minister refused to answer the question of whether he will punish anyone for collecting "signatures by orders." "We shall see what the investigation reveals," he said.

As some readers will remember, GAZETA WYBORCZA discovered that signatures were undoubtedly collected in military units in Czerwony Bor (where lists were distributed by company and platoon commanders) and in Warsaw (where salaries were not paid unless soldiers signed their names on lists at the pay desk). Union of Labor [UP] Deputy Artur Smolko, the Freedom Union, and the coalition parties protested. The interior minister established a commission to investigate the issue. The UP is to appeal to the Sejm Presidium to establish a special parliamentary commission for the same purpose.

Our interlocutors claim that NJW Commander Vice Admiral Marek Toczek must have known about the collection of signatures because "not even a mouse squeaks' in NJW without his approval.

The vice admiral, however, denies this. "I am happy that the interior minister established a special commission that will thoroughly explain the circumstances of the operation," he told us yesterday. "I am sorry that certain politicians use this type of information without verifying it."

"Did the NJW commanders issue orders for collecting the signatures?"—we asked.

"This must be some kind of a joke," Toczek replied. "I know what the law is. Military and political activities should be strictly separated."

The vice admiral did stress, however, that soldiers are not lifeless dummies, and have a right to choose: "I hope the commission explains whether signatures were collected in the units. I did not have any signals of the sort."

We learned from unofficial sources that the lists of signatures supporting Walesa's candidacy disappeared from the NJW instantly. Our sources claim the officers and enlisted men who were on holiday could still sign them as of last week.

No Campaigning in Army

LD1008173495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1629 GMT Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 10 Aug — There will be no presidential campaign in the Armed Forces, National Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski assured journalists today after a ceremony of awarding decorations and promotions to professional soldiers that was held in Warsaw to mark the upcoming Armed Forces' Day.

The minister added that "irrespective of who would like to begin the campaign, whether the left, the right, or the center," there will be no campaign in the Army. He stressed that "if cases of certain irresponsible persons occur, we will oppose them." According to him, the rules of the military forces provide suitable instruments in that respect. Okonski also said that, so far, he has not received any reports of attempts to conduct the campaign in the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Presidential Aide Removed From Chancellery Office

LD1008151895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tomasz Kwiatkowski has been removed as head of President Lech Walesa's chancellery. Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski told the Radio Information Agency that the removal is connected with the streamlining of the chancellery's work. Kwiatkowski will retain the post of under secretary of state in the chancellery. He is to remain President Lech Walesa's legal adviser. It is not known who will become the new head of President Walesa's chancellery.

Defense Minister Interviewed About Work to Date

WS1008145795 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 5-6 Aug 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski by Aleksander Frydrychowicz; place and date not given: "I Thought It Was Not That Bad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **[Frydrychowicz] Minister, what do you think of what the Ministry of National Defense [MON] has done over the five months you have been in office?**

[Okonski] I would not like to limit my judgment to a black and white picture. I can generally say that I encountered a situation far more complex than I had anticipated upon taking office.

Legislative issues dealing with security, whether pertaining to the Constitution or my own responsibilities, still remain unresolved.

We have only begun settling issues that were thus far regulated by a law on universal military duty that was amended dozens of times. Fortunately, a draft on military duty and other obligations pertaining to defense for both citizens of the Polish Republic and foreigners has been approved by the Defense Committee of the Council of Ministers [KSO RM] and submitted for further development to the government.

[Frydrychowicz] But KSO RM did not approve the draft in its entirety?

[Okonski] One of the controversial issues is whether we should introduce a military duty tax, like in Switzerland, or not. This will be debated at a cabinet session and we might submit an alternative solution to the Sejm. I expect a heated discussion on the topic. Approval of the solutions we are suggesting would mark a breakthrough in thinking about the universal military duty performed by individuals and the option of financial compensation in cases where individuals or military institutions cannot or do not want to perform such duty or be its beneficiaries.

[Frydrychowicz] Will this one law solve the situation you yourself claim is far more complex than you had anticipated?

[Okonski] The law on billeting the Armed Forces has already materialized. A draft on the administration of military-owned property is currently being developed. We want to activate assets the military has in its possession. They could generate profits we could allocate to military operations, training and arms purchases. But we still have a long way to go.

Other laws waiting in line are the act on martial law, on the responsibilities of the defense minister in times of war, on the Military Police, and on the Military Information Services.

I wish to stress that a lot still remains for us to be done in the field of legislation within MON itself, KSO RM, the Council of Ministers and the Sejm.

The second thing I was not fully aware of was the scale of the necessary modernization within the Armed Forces and the finances it involves. I was sure "it was not that bad." When, after a few months, I realized what the needs of the Armed Forces for modernization, the costs of current maintenance, and the high costs of purchasing ammunition and other weaponry were, I came to the conclusion that expenditures on defense cannot be further cut. I am constitutionally responsible for defense alertness, for taking action in case of danger. I wish to fulfill that responsibility.

I believe we must convince our citizens that it is necessary to earmark greater funds from the budget for defense. I have begun talks with the Ministry of Finance and other ministries on the scenario of how Polish industry can use money spent by MON. The scale of those expenses has to be established for more than just the upcoming year.

I trust that my suggestions to the prime minister and government authorities that the notion of the security of citizens be extended to include defense issues will be taken up. I am proposing that defense expenses in 1996 be five percent higher than this year's. This will cause a growth trend to appear.

I dream of developing a long-term project for the modernization of the Polish Armed Forces which would make use of our arms industry's potential. Naturally, that industry would have to be supplied with modern Western technologies, particularly in the case of guided armor-piercing projectiles and antiaircraft shells, military electronics, radio stations, radio links, radars, armored carriers, and multitask planes. This may be achieved in ten years or more. We have already projected our needs up to the year 2010. We do have to, however, confront them with real projected expenditures of the entire budget.

I already have Prime Minister Oleksy's approval. Together with representatives of the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and the Central Planning Administration we have begun a simulation that will show us what the state budget expenditures might be over the next five years. I want to present an initiative to develop a five-year project of modernizing the Armed Forces based on the state's financial condition. The first stage shall consist of identifying that condition. It should be completed by the end of September, when we are to report to the Sejm on the implementation of a resolution it passed on 16 February this year on the defense of the Republic of Poland. At the same time we will ask the Sejm for approval of our legislative initiative so that the five-year progressive plan can be implemented. Even if it does turn out that we are not able to allocate 3 percent of GNP to defense, we must be brave enough to accept that truth. Yet we must also define how big that sum is to be—2.7 or 2.8 percent. The development trends within the Armed Forces depend on the real sum we will have at our disposal.

[Frydrychowicz] The attack on the military unit in Warsaw demonstrated how inefficient the Polish Armed Forces are at guaranteeing their own security. How do you think this can be corrected?

[Okonski] Military units remain perfectly safe as far as the protection of their munitions stores is concerned. This was an accident, and accidents are always a coincidence. This was a spectacular attack carried out by a very well-prepared and organized criminal group, not so much on a military base, but on an edifice beyond the military unit grounds in which military officers worked. This would have never been possible within the barracks.

In this particular case I do see certain shortcomings in protecting arms, as was indicated by the commission headed by General Leszek Chyla. I consider it careless and thoughtless that responsible people allowed a situation to develop in which a single man, at night, in a practically unguarded building watched over dozens of weapons. This is very inappropriate.

[Frydrychowicz] Do you not see this as a warning that it is possible to take over military equipment far more lethal than firearms if everything is properly organized and planned?

[Okonski] Planning the operation in the Warsaw district of Bemowo was made easier due to the fact that several institutions were responsible for security. The facility was used not only by the military, but also by the Vistula military units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Aeroclub, and several other institutions. This does not, naturally, absolve from responsiblity all those who were responsible for the stored equipment—not only the firearms, but the aircraft as well. It was an organizational fallacy that the assistant to the officer on duty stayed at the helicopter because he was unable to open the hanger doors and did not have an ongoing contact with the officer on duty. We will certainly draw conclusions from that.

[Frydrychowicz] There have been many affairs related to defense issues recently that tend to grow larger the less official information is disclosed about them. PAP recently reported that Polish weapons were supplied to the Italian mafia; one of the rightist papers is bringing similar claims against former generals. What do you think about this, especially as you yourself once supervised the arms trade as deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation? Does an illegal international arms trade market truly exist in Poland?

[Okonski] In my current position, I am not responsible for the arms trade. It is supervised by the minister of foreign economic cooperation, who issues licenses and exercises control.

All the Armed Forces can do is get rid of weapons or ammunition they no longer want. Our powers slightly overlap, but it is the other ministry that decides where they are to be sold. We are also controlled when purchasing foreign equipment. Bids and operations carried out by the Military Information Services and the Office of State Protection guarantee that the transactions are carried out properly.

My experiences date back to the period between 1991 and January 1992, and later from August 1992 to September 1994, when I was deputy minister at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzZ]. I can proudly say there were no improper contracts or any affair at that time. Even the rifle affair took place after I had completed my first assignment at MGWzZ. I had warned the people who were later arrested by the Americans that they will not obtain a license because they were a private group. I also warned them against the possibility of provocation from their competitors.

[Frydrychowicz] The "Italian" affair was allegedly continued until 1991. You did not know anything about it?

[Okonski] As for reports that Polish arms were allegedly supplied to the Italian Mafia until 1991, we had no inkling that anything like that was going on. I only know that at the time, our arms sales were dropping. In 1990, we sold arms worth $380 million; in the next year, $60 million. We simply lost our markets in countries that had previously belonged to the Warsaw Pact.

Perhaps certain amounts of our weaponry reached the Mafia through other channels without our knowledge or approval. Maybe what had been previously sold to other states was later resold. As far as I remember, there were no suspect transactions that would point to the fact that a transport of arms was "lifted." There were also no documents of arms transports to the former Yugoslavia at the time when Germany had problems with widespread sales of weapons to the warring sides.

Perhaps there is some small-scale illicit trading, but Polish arms were not cleared from Polish barracks or munition stores, because it would have been disclosed immediately.

Each transport of arms abroad is controlled. I can say with a clear conscience that after 1990, Polish weapons were not supplied to mafias.

[Frydrychowicz] Are the secret services not signalling such phenomena at present?

[Okonski] No. We get very high marks. The Office of State Protection [UOP] once carried out a joint operation with the British secret services to investigate the channels through which arms for the Irish Republican Army were trafficked. The British officers did not withstand the tension and, instead of tracing the yarn to the ball, they revealed all their cards too soon. The UOP officers did an excellent job.

[Frydrychowicz] Taking over as the defense minister you said you would be loyal to two masters. Most recently, after a meeting with the top authorities at MON, the prime minister said he has no reason to complain about your loyalty. How do you make fire and water meet?

[Okonski] This is not a good comparison. In an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Prime Minister Oleksy said there is a truce between him and the president. I am very satisfied with that and proud that the first official meeting between "both my masters" took place at the General Staff at my initiative, in my early days in office as head of MON. There were two further meetings during sessions of the National Defense Committee.

I think it is very good that on the most important supraparty issues both gentlemen can reach agreement and do not lose sight of the interests of the state. I regard both my superiors very highly for that. I think this will not change and that they will meet again shortly. We cannot allow two power centers to differ in their judgments and methods of guaranteeing state security.

[Frydrychowicz] POLSKA ZBROJNA, the daily paper of the Polish Armed Forces, undermined the principle of democratic civilian control over the military. Do you not think that the official stance of the minister and the head of the General Staff could help explain the importance of this Constitutional issue to the officers?

[Okonski] Democratic civilian control or managing the Armed Forces consists of allowing democratically elected representatives of the voters—the legislative authorities and then the representatives of the executive authorities they appoint—to have an influence on the particular spheres in which the Armed Forces operate. I mean cadres, finances, and supervision of training. This actually boils down to the prerogatives of the defense minister, who operates via a specialized extension within civilian and military structures.

I consider all myths that the General Staff is fighting for autonomy, that it is alienated, that it rules instead of the minister, to be simply devised for political reasons. They are not true. There were differences of opinion between former Deputy Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski and myself on how the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland are to be organized, but Mr. Milewski was alone in his views. He did not have any supporters even within the opposition, which is evident from the recently passed law on the office of the defense minister. One of its provisions confirms the principle that the General Staff is the highest authority of command over the Armed Forces and is subject to the defense minister.

[Frydrychowicz] You once said that although the head of the General Staff acknowledges you to be his superior, you differ in opinions on several issues. What issues are those?

[Okonski] It is very healthy to discuss certain decisions. I make decisions only after I hear many opinions from my subordinates and aides. The opinion of the highest military commander is particularly important.

General Wilecki is responsible for combat alertness and training in the Armed Forces. As a member of a cabinet that was appointed by a democratically elected Sejm, in some aspects subordinated to the president, I also have to take other circumstances into consideration. My decisions do not necessarily have to overlap with those of the head of the General Staff at all times—on financial issues, for instance.

The general does not have to like the fact that we are dissolving certain garrisons, that we are making decisions on dissolving military hospitals and transforming them into outpatient clinics, or that we are dissolving renovation units at the regiment level and moving them to divisions and districts. These are unpopular decisions and we do not make them lightly, but such is life.

Similarly, on issues pertaining to staffing, I take advantage of my prerogatives to promote men, removing the members of the military cadres who have already served their time to the reserves so that younger soldiers can be promoted. And although these are not always areas in which we disagree, we always discuss them and often have to make difficult decisions.

One of my personal responsibilities is motioning to the president for promotions to first degree officers and generals.

[Frydrychowicz] Will you move to promote Archbishop Sawa, field bishop of the Orthodox Church, to general within those prerogatives?

[Okonski] I have not been approached on this issue, although I have met with Metropolitan Basil. He did not come forth with any such suggestion. If he does, we will naturally consider it, although I think it is worth looking at the scale of the problem. I am open to cooperation with all chaplain corps and field ordinaries.

[Frydrychowicz] Thank you for the interview.

Polish-Lithuanian Minority Issues Aired

MM1008171895 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 3 Aug 95 p 6

[Interview with Czeslaw Okinczyc, chairman of Vilnius-based "Radio on the Vilia," by correspondent Jaroslaw Latacz; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Latacz] Recently the view has been frequently voiced that Poland has no vision of an "eastern policy," which rebounds most painfully on our compatriots who live there. What mistakes do you perceive, looking, as you do, from Vilnius' perspective?

[Okinczyc] I bear no grudge against the Polish authorities, nor do I blame our own [Lithuanian] foreign ministry. What is more, I believe that the policy pursued for the past four years has been the only policy possible in the present political circumstances. My reply to those critics who are so keen to speak of "mistakes" in relations with either the Polish community in Lithuania or the Lithuanian Government is that we are approaching the end of the 20th century and we must adapt our thinking accordingly. Even so, in both Vilnius and Warsaw we still hear of "pressure exerted on the Lithuanian Government," "forced compliance with the letter of the law," and so on. I myself am an ethnic Pole, but I am also, after all, a Lithuanian citizen, so I do not agree with any interference in my country's internal affairs. Today Europe is changed, and there can be no talk of any change of state boundaries or the present policy.

[Latacz] Forced compliance is one thing and respecting mutually signed agreements another....

[Okinczyc] The recently signed treaty has created a platform on which we can reach any agreement we want to reach. However, if one side prefers to position itself so that it gets hit, then it will be hit. The side that opts for calm and unemotional talks will always come out the winner. Critics of the Polish foreign ministry often come up with unacceptable proposals and then feel bitterly disappointed when these are rejected. But the people who have tried to involve Polish diplomatic posts in a variety of political rifts have the greatest cause for complaints. Our diplomats hold consistently to the framework of international law and European norms, remembering that an ethnic minority is not exclusively a Lithuanian phenomenon. Some people seem to be unable to understand that if we take a sharply controversial position there, problems could arise, in the future, with the German, Ukrainian, or Lithuanian minorities living in Poland.

[Latacz] So what should be the platform on which we could build our relations so that the phantoms of the past do not come alive again on either side?

[Okinczyc] Commercial relations present a tremendous opportunity here. At the moment, to be a rich Pole in Lithuania is to be respected and highly esteemed. A wealthy person is assumed to have much sound judgment, and I think that we should build economic bridges between our countries in which the role of the Polish community should be to match potential partners on each side. The schedule of my current visit to Poland is filled with meetings with factory directors and other businessmen, because the West is beginning to look more and more favorably at our country, and the Lithuanians are capable of drawing their practical conclusions from that. I recently attended a press conference given by the Lithuanian minister of trade and industry in conjunction with our visit. He said that Poland is expected to overtake Russia soon when it comes to deliveries of raw and other materials, because Polish goods are generally of better quality, cheaper, and more esthetically packaged. I believe that this was not just empty courtesy on his part. You only have to look at the map to see who is better positioned for close trade relations.

[Latacz] But international policies are not created in a vacuum, and the old grievances are still not entirely forgotten, after all....

[Okinczyc] Both sides are to blame for this, but we should remember that Lithuanians should be advised by Lithuanians. Let me remind Poles that Lithuania is now an independent state and that they should keep that firmly in mind. And yet some people here go so far as to call even us, the ethnic Poles living in Lithuania, "Russkies." We are proud that Poland is a country where the population's living conditions are better than in the East, but that should not be a reason to look down on other countries and nations. We are also insulted by references to Poland's constituting the bulwark of Christianity and the outermost rontier of Mediterranean culture. If that is accepted to be true, where does it place us? Do we live outside the ramparts? Outside the frontier?

[Latacz] So why did the Polish community in Lithuania give its support to the Christian National Union [ZChN] in our parliamentary election? Do you also intend to express your opinion during our presidential election?

[Okinczyc] I hope the Polish community in Lithuania will never again make the mistake of supporting anyone in any future elections in Poland. We supported the ZChN, and then not even a single representative of that party got a seat in the Sejm. A logical consequence of our position would now be to oppose the present parliament, but that would be total folly. If the situation were repeated and the Polish people chose a president to whom we were, as it were, "in opposition," we would end up looking not only foolish but outright ridiculous.

[Latacz] Thank you for talking to us.

Oil Restructuring History, New Developments

WS1008150695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Aug 95 pp 1, 7

[Report by Jacek Czarnecki: "MWGzZ Wants To Monopolize Oil Import; Ciech Huge Again"—letter mentioned in text and flow chart not included]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *In return for including stocks of the Import-Export Center for Chemicals and Chemical Equipment SA [Ciech SA] in the Polish Oil Company SA [Nafta Polska SA, NP SA], (that is, Polska Kompania Naftowa—the Polish Oil Company SA), the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzZ] expects to obtain at least 30 percent of the shares of NP SA and the right to recommend three members of the NP SA Supervisory Board, as well as to ensure Ciech SA exclusive rights (a monopoly) in the area of international oil trade, as well as in the trade in oil products used by the chemical industry.*

This is nearly a literal quotation of a letter sent to Industry Minister Klemens Scierski (of the Polish Peasant Party — PSL) by Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Jacek Buchacz (PSL). We have published the minister's letter on page seven.

The battle over the future of the Polish oil sector has been going on for over four years now. It is no longer a surprise that the battle is political in nature and that this is the reason why it has been going on for such a long time.

First, PSL, with the help of Leslaw Podkanski, former foreign economic cooperation minister, took control over Ciech; Podkanski simply recalled Marian Malecki from the post of Ciech director in the summer of 1994. This caused a veritable storm in the press and opposition in big chemical plants that hold 49 percent of Ciech shares. At first this opposition was strong, but then it gradually weakened. After a few weeks, the atmosphere finally cooled down. Malecki was fired and was replaced by Minister Podkanski's protege, Zdzislaw Matkiewicz (who for a short period ran the agricultural company of Hortex). At that time, the press termed Podkanski's step "PSL's attempt to take over Ciech's money."

A little later, former MWGzZ head Podkanski put forward an idea of establishing a "trade, production, and finance center" that would be headed by Ciech and would consist of all the chemical plants, as well as refineries, soda plants, sulfur plants, as well as others. People in the companies involved said jokingly at that time that probably only dry cleaners would not be swallowed by the holding company. They said quite seriously, however, that this was an attempt to re-create the former union of the chemical industry. The concept of establishing the "center" was not worked out in detail, but the intentions of PSL or MWGzZ—the ministry headed by people linked with this party—were revealed.

Z. Matkiewicz proposed in a program prepared in Ciech that, just like Repsol in Spain, Ciech become the sector's main company. Such a need was not noticed by the authors of the oil sector restructuring program (the team, set up in the spring of 1994, was headed by former Industry Minister Marek Pol); thus, in the "general" program, approved by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers [KERM] in the summer of

1994, there was no room for Ciech. Ciech was also excluded both from the full program accepted by KERM in December 1994 and from the program accepted in January 1995 by the Council of Ministers (when Pawlak was prime minister). Ciech supporters merely managed to include in the program a very vague provision that in the future it would be possible to establish capital links between Ciech and the Polish Oil Company [PKN] SA.

In early 1995, just when it seemed that the issue of the oil sector had finally come to an end, the Pawlak government, which had accepted the restructuring program, stepped down. Industry Minister Marek Pol was replaced by Klemens Scierski (addressee of the letter), and L. Podkanski was replaced by Jacek Buchacz, author of the letter we quoted. Thus, another group of people started to work on the program.

In July 1995 the Oleksy government once again approved the oil sector restructuring program—which, aside from the fact that it does not envision dividing the Center of Petroleum Products, does not differ much from the program that was accepted in January this year.

Again, Ciech was mentioned at one place only: that it is possible that in the future there may be capital links between NP SA and Ciech. Why then did Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Jacek Buchacz suggest that in return for Ciech's shares, MWGzZ should receive 30 percent of the NP SA shares, and why does he expect that Ciech will monopolize the oil import market and the international trade in oil products used by chemical plants? Perhaps at the "working meeting" held on 2 August 1995 (Minister Buchacz quotes documents drafted at that meeting) final decisions were made on Ciech's participation in the structures of the oil concern. However, there is no information whatsoever on the decisions made on 2 August. [passage omitted]

Funds for Scientific Research Said Inadequate

95EP0134A Poznan WPROST in Polish 28 May 95 No 22, pp 65-66

[Article by Bozena Kastory: "The Price of Thinking: Poland Spends Less on Scientific Research Than Car Companies Do on Preparing One New Car Model"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *All Polish inventions presented at the World Exhibition of Inventions and Technical Innovations in Geneva were given medals. Is this to say that we are a powerhouse of innovation? Not quite, because we only presented five inventions at the exhibition. They accounted for only 0.5 percent of all new products and technologies brought to Geneva from 40 countries of the world.*

Since each of the Polish inventions was worthy of a medal, why did we not bring more of them? The answer was: "Because no funds could be found to pay for the exhibition space." The absurdity of such reasoning in light of opportunities for promoting Polish inventions on the world market can be compared only to the absurdity of the future of such inventions within the country.

Wladyslaw Koleczko, chairman of the Association of Polish Inventors and Efficiency Experts, which sponsored the Polish stand in Geneva, explained: "We did not have any more money. We scraped together with difficulty the funds to rent 10 meters of space, and the concessional rate, which the organizers of the exhibition agreed to grant us, was due only to the negotiating ability of officials from the Polish Embassy.

The Romanians and the Hungarians Did Not Have to Seek Any Concessions And Presented Several Times More Than We Did

Romanian and Hungarian government agencies footed the bill in the conviction that it made sense. Gold medals were given to engineer Dr. Wojciech Nawrot from the WAT [Military Technical Academy] for a method of drying architectural structures by crystalline injection, and to two employees of the Institute of Maintenance Technology in Radom (engineer Dr. Marek Szczerek and Witold Piekoszewski) for a microprocessor-controlled system for testing friction, wear, and lubrication. Dr. Nawrot said: "Many prospective clients called on me—representatives of companies from Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Germany, and even an Arab sheik who wants me to dry his palace in Riyadh."

Dr. Nawrot has already dried 2,500 buildings, including the Jasna Gora monastery, Chopin's house in Zelazowa Wola, the palace structure in Lowicz, the National Theater in Warsaw, more than 100 buildings in Krakow, and the Palazzo Doria in Rome. What is Dr. Nawrot's method based on? Holes are drilled in water-logged walls and appropriately selected mineral compounds are injected into them. As these compounds bind with water they produce an insulating barrier that makes it impossible for soil moisture to seep into the building.

The apparent simplicity of Dr. Nawrot's inventions draws on some of the most sophisticated equations in contemporary physics, for which the Belgian physicist Ilya Prigogine got the Nobel prize in 1976. The equations describe the process of the self-organization of crystals. Dr. Nawrot decided to put this phenomenon to practical use. By the time American physicists from the University of Indiana came up with a computer simulation of the self-organization of crystals 10 years later, Dr. Nawrot had already finished the first technical tests of the technique for drying buildings. Dr. Nawrot, who was the author and promoter, at once turned out to deviate from the notion zealously championed by the KBN [Committee for Scientific Research], the government agency for funding research and the development of science in Poland. The committee in question noted emphatically in instructions issued for a commission reviewing applications for subsidies: "The intention to develop and promote a new design disqualifies an application for a grant or subsidy from the KBN."

"A Pro-Innovation Policy Does Not Exist in Poland,"

— said Professor Cezary Ambroziak, one of the creators of the first integrated circuit in Europe and the director of the Institute of Electronic Technology and former deputy chairman of the KBN. "KBN activities are built on a law with erroneous assumptions under which only scientific research can be financed, but not a single zloty can be allocated to implement the resulting inventions."

The consequences of proceeding in this manner are easy to see if we track, for example, the fate of an ophthalmological system with a holmium laser for eye surgery or a microwave tomograph for diagnosing tumors. Both are WAT developments. There is no money to mass-produce these devices. Professor Zdzislaw Jankiewicz, a co-author of the laser for eye surgery, said: "The conviction that a good invention will make it on its own has taken root in Poland over the last few years."

Meanwhile, only small and rather inexpensive inventions can make a breakthrough on their own. Laser systems for eye surgery are definitely not among them. The laser that got an award in Geneva is a highly sophisticated device. It generates rays with a wavelength of about two microns which do not penetrate deeply into the eye but instead act on its surface. Due to this, the laser can be used to treat eye surface conditions and ulcerations, and to slit the cornea in order to change its shape, for example, while compensating for hyperopia. However, the WAT is not a manufacturing establishment and cannot produce more than a few copies of the system. They have been produced with funds from the so-called centrally directed programs that existed prior to 1989. There are no such programs now.

Prospects for the Production of the Microwave Thermograph for Mammography Appear to Be the Same—That Is: Slim.

The developers of the thermograph, Professor Bronislaw Stec and his team, received a silver medal in Geneva. Their device measures electromagnetic radiation emitted by the body in the microwave band. This is a noninvasive diagnostic method, unlike regular mammography or biopsy. However, so far there have been no takers in Poland willing to produce the device.

Three years ago, Deborah Wince-Smith, secretary for new technologies in the American Department of the Economy [as published], said at a conference at the Technical University of Warsaw: "Countries that manage to quickly turn technologies into products and services, and thus master the markets of the world, become rich. Government actions may influence costs, the procurement of capital, and investment in research and development. Government policies may either encourage or discourage commercial applications of technology."

Representatives of the Polish Government did not have an occasion to debate Ms. Wince-Smith because they failed to show up at the Technical University although they were invited to the conference given by the representatives of the American Government and companies promoting innovations. Several years have passed, and the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has recommended to the government a draft law on the establishment of the Technical Development and Technology Agency. A government press bureau press release dated 5 May reads: "So far, the Committee for Scientific Research has covered the cost of scientific research as far as new technical developments and technology are concerned. However, such financing did not cover the stage of implementation arrangements or the use of innovations in production. Therefore, on frequent occasions,

The Lack of Relatively Small Amounts of Money Made It Impossible to Bring a New Product to the Market or to Use a New Technology.

It was therefore necessary to establish a specialized unit that would facilitate the implementation of new technical developments and technologies."

Guidelines for the pro-innovation policy of the state, which the KBN has finally drawn up, say: "The way to economic success leads through a combination of elements of a market economy with those of state intervention, which are expressed through a pro-innovation policy of the state." This should be brought about, among other things, by "adjusting the financial and tax systems and credit polices to the need to support the innovative character of the economy, including the availability of credit on terms that make it possible for investors to get involved in innovative undertakings."

Only a few specific proposals were included in the guidelines. The necessary actions include "a consistently growing proportion of expenditures on science," "shaping attitudes favoring innovation," and "providing conditions for the enhancement of infrastructure." Meanwhile, the Polish economy is incapable of innovation, because of continuously declining outlays on research and development work and because the tax burden on industrial enterprises exceeds their financial accumulation, which means that they are incapable of introducing innovations. As a result, the volume of production of new products (in sales prices) came to 1.6 percent in 1993. This is undoubtedly one of the lowest statistics in Europe.

How Much We Spend for Scientific Research

	1988	1989	1990	1991
National income per capita (dollars)	4,724	4,952	4,300	4,000
Spending on research and development per capita	67	45	47	25

Source: Statistical Yearbook, UNESCO, 1991

Nastase: Do Not Count on Me To Be Envoy to U.S.

AU1108062895 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Cristina Teodorescu: "Adrian Nastase: 'Do Not Count on Me' for the Post of Ambassador to the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The only certain thing I can say in connection with the post of ambassador to the United States is: Do not count on me," said Adrian Nastase. In addition to this statement, made at a news conference in Eforie Nord, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] executive president said that the post, which became vacant when the former ambassador, Mihai Botez, died, will be filled by Ion Gorita, our country's ambassador to the United Nations, until a new ambassador is appointed.

"It is very difficult to find a suitable person for the post of ambassador to the United States. If we want to perform properly, we need someone who can establish the connection not only with the Department of State, but also with the Congress, the Senate, and other institutions. That is, we need someone who knows the American civic society very well. Therefore," said Nastase in conclusion, "it will be a long time before a new ambassador to Washington is appointed."

Comment on SRI Head-Presidential Aide Struggle

AU1008150595 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 4 Aug 95 p 4

[Commentary by C. Draghici: "Another Pawn Sacrificed?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A few days ago, the press office of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] laconically announced that Victor Marcu, the first deputy of the SRI director, resigned for personal reasons. SRI spokesman Nicolae Ulieru declined to comment on the case. Viorel Marcu's "voluntary" resignation lets one foresee dark clouds gathering above the head of his friend, presidential counselor [for defense issues, General] Vasile Ionel. It is to be expected that, sooner or later, Vasile Ionel, formerly head of the Armed Forces Supplies Directorate and currently presidential counselor, will ask to be placed in reserve. As in most similar cases after the revolution, the reason he will probably give will be his health.

The attempt to remove SRI Director Virgil Magureanu from his office by means of General Marcu seems to be the second resounding failure of the presidential counselors (the first was the famous Capatana case, when they tried to remove the then interior minister, George Ioan Danescu.) As in other similar cases, Ionel placed his bet on the wrong horse because General Marcu was very vulnerable to attacks due to the dubious dealings related to the military unit that was turned into the Pelendava Commercial Company—in other words, into an SRI holding in Oltenia.

By having managed to oust General Marcu, Victor Magureanu demonstrated once again that, except for President Ion Iliescu, he is the sole postrevolution dignitary really able to defend his chair.

Following General Marcu's spectacular "resignation," the ongoing conflict between Dumitru Iliescu, the chief of the Guard and Protection Service, and Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the president of the Greater Romania Party, a conflict that lately was so extensively aired by the press, will probably also come to an end soon. Sources at the Cotroceni Palace disclosed that the same presidential counselor, Vasile Ionel, is behind this conflict as well.

We would not be at all surprised if, in the near future, information is leaked to the press about Vasile Ionel's activity, especially at the time he was head of the Armed Forces Supplies Directorate.

Anyway, Virgil Magureanu never leaves things without reacting, he is always alert, and, especially, he never forgives.

The only sad thing about this entire affair is that, due to personal ambitions of certain dignitaries, the Romanian secret services have been set on each other as if following a scenario designed by organizations stemming from the defunct KGB.

Thaler, Sacirbegocic Meet, View 'Good Relations'

AU1008151195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic is paying an official visit to Slovenia. He was received by Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler this morning. After the talks, they both made statements for the public. Here is a report by Marko Krautberger:

[Being recording] From the statements Foreign Ministers Sacirbegovic and Thaler made after today's talks, one could primarily see a desire to continue successful cooperation and maintain good relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia. The Slovene foreign minister reiterated Slovenia's resolve to see the government of this internationally recognized country as the only appropriate collocutor on the issues regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his statement, the Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister thanked the Slovene partners for adhering to their principled views and to Slovenia in general for all the support and help. The topics discussed by the two ministers today proved there are quite a few powerful links between the countries.

Trade between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia forms an important aspect of cooperation despite the difficult circumstances. Numerous Slovene companies are helping their former economic partners and 59 Slovene companies have, so far, gathered over 2 million German marks for the reconstruction of Sarajevo. The humanitarian aid that Slovenia sends to the affected areas via various organizations and the care for refugees who have found shelter in Slovenia is also of great importance to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the talks, the two ministers could not avoid the events in Croatia, that is, in the Cazin region that Minister Sacirbegovic visited recently in the company of Bosnia-Herzegovina President Izetbegovic. [passage omitted]. [end recording]

Croatian Ambassador Praises Ljubljana's Stance

AU1008205795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference, Croatian Ambassador to Slovenia Miljenko Zagar, among other things, also praised Slovene politics. As he said, for the duration of the Croatian operations in Krajina, official Ljubljana strived to be very objective and well intentional, and even though it was not very vocal in the proclamation of its views, it essentially advocated all the time that things should be put in their right place. Zagar also added that the relations between the countries are becoming increasingly better.

Zagar spoke in detail about the recent Croatian military action in Knin Krajina and emphasized that Zagreb decided on it because the issue of the Croatian occupied territories had not been resolved, even after four years of meetings, declarations, and peace plans. Only eastern Slavonia is occupied now, Zagar said, and added that Croatia would try to resolve this issue peacefully.

Federal

Foreign Minister on Results of Milosevic Visit

LD1108114795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1029 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Report by correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 August (ITAR-TASS)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has described as "very positive" the results of the one-day visit to Moscow by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on 10 August. "The talks with Boris Yeltsin, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin are of long-term significance for the development of both bilateral relations and the cessation of the bloody crisis in the Balkans," the minister said, answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent at a press conference today.

Jovanovic said Yugoslavia fully supports Boris Yeltsin's initiative aimed at settling the Yugoslav crisis and preventing a humanitarian catastrophe with 200,000 refugees from Krajina. The head of the foreign ministry pointed out in particular the Russian president's call on the world community to lift immediately the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and his statement that, if the decision on this matter is delayed, Russia can take unilateral steps and lift the sanctions. "We wish a successful implementation of the initiatives put forward by Boris Yeltsin," said the head of the Yugoslav diplomatic department.

Croatian Aggression 'War Crime'

LD1108115095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic told TANJUG today that the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina is a war crime, but he doubted whether those to blame will be put on trial.

"Aggression in itself is a war crime. It is a crime against peace, and this is set out in appropriate UN documents," Jovanovic said.

He pointed out that "the murder and ill-treatment of displaced persons on the road to safety, as well as the means used to carry out the aggression, is a war crime because the indiscriminate shelling of cities is banned by all UN documents."

"However, I am not sure that there are forces in the world that could bring their influence to bear on the protectors of Croatia for anything to happen to it as a result of these policies because Croatian policies are a constituent part of the strategy and policy of its protectors," Jovanovic said. [passage omitted]

Urges UN To Protect Refugees

LD1008191995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the devastating accounts made by Serb refugees from Vrginmost, Slunj, Vojnic, and Donji Lapac, who entered the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia near Lipovac after traveling on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic today sent a letter to UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi, the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs says.

Having recalled that these refugees were told to take this route as agreed by representatives of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and Croatian authorities, Minister Jovanovic informed Akashi that three convoys that traveled on the agreed route and were escorted by UNPROFOR policemen and EU observers were subjected to unprecedented terror waged by local Croats in places they went through.

The Serb refugees experienced the most torture and physical harassment in Sisak. In front of 50 passive members of the Croatian army and police, the people of Sisak threw stones, bricks, and garbage on the column of refugees, set their cars on fire, pulled women, children, and the elderly from cars, beat them up and took what little possessions they had managed to take with them. All of this was accompanied by hysterical approval from the gathered mob.

Expressing bitterness and revulsion at the ill-treatment and violence perpetrated against innocent civilians, despite the assurances of the UN, Akashi personally, and UNPROFOR representatives in Belgrade, Minister Jovanovic warned Akashi of the inexplicably and unacceptably mild and aloof attitude of UNPROFOR and the absence of an appropriate reaction by its members in connection with the drastic examples of the torture of unprotected refugees, which they themselves had witnessed, the statement says.

In a situation in which the behavior of the Croatian authorities and population and also the passivity of UNPROFOR is casting doubt on the possibility of the continuation of the evacuation of a further approximately 50,000 Krajina Serbs who are still near Glina, Topusko, and Dvor, Minister Jovanovic asked Akashi not to stop at the mere condemnation he has already pronounced, but to take the most urgent and energetic measures to prevent such evil deeds that are in contravention of international humanitarian law and the provisions of the convention on torture and prevent any repetition of them. At the same time, he expressed the expectation that Akashi would take all of the necessary steps to investigate the whole affair, inform the appropriate authorities in the United Nations, and punish the criminals appropriately.

Belgrade To Ask UN To Lift Sanctions

LD1008164095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—The federal government is to ask the UN Security Council to lift the sanctions immediately and make a special decision to guarantee the safety and a special exit route for the civilian population on their way out of the war-affected areas to safer areas, the Federal Secretariat for Information announced today.

The statement from the extraordinary session of the federal government says:

The federal government, at today's session, which was presided over by Radoje Kontic, approved a report on measures in the diplomatic and humanitarian sphere in connection with the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

In view of the rapid increase in the proportions of the dramatic humanitarian situation, the federal government will very soon be asking the UN Sanctions' Committee to resolve, in accordance with accelerated procedure, the decisions in connection with requests for the dispatch of humanitarian aid to the victims of ethnic cleansing. It will also request of the Sanctions' Committee its consent for the export of individual products from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the acquisition of essential financial resources in order to cover immediate humanitarian needs.

For the same reason, the federal government will ask all countries that hold frozen FRY financial assets to unfreeze those assets as soon as possible in order to alleviate the serious humanitarian situation imposed on the FRY by Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Bearing in mind the newly created situation, the federal government has decided to ask the Security Council to lift the sanctions immediately and to pass a special decision guaranteeing the safe passage of the expelled civilians on their way from the war-torn to safe areas.

At the same time, the government will demand that the Security Council prevent a dangerous escalation of the war threatening a wider region by putting an urgent and resolute halt to the Croatian aggression, in line with UN Chapter 7.

The federal government has charged all Yugoslav diplomatic and consular offices to step up efforts to collect and forward all forms of humanitarian aid for refugees from Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

Expert on Genocide: Croatia Guilty of War Crimes

LD1008165195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, August 10 (TANJUG)—Croatia has committed serious war crimes in the aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, expert in international law and head of the Museum of Genocide Milan Bulajic told TANJUG on Thursday.

Croatia violated the basic principles of international law that are expounded in the United Nations Charter—the right of a nation to self-determination and the ban of the use of force, Bulajic said.

The bombing of civilian targets in Knin and other Serb Krajina towns and the shelling of unprotected columns of refugees constitute gross violation of The Hague and Geneva Conventions on the Protection of Civilians, Bulajic said.

He described the latest 'expulsion of Serb population from their ancestral land' as the most massive exodus since the beginning of armed conflicts in 1991.

Bulajic said Croatia had also committed a crime against the United Nations by killing several of its peacekeepers and using others as a human shield in military operations. This, however, was done with full awareness and consent of some of the big powers, he said.

In this context, it would be appropriate to raise the question of responsibility of the United States and Germany, he said.

Bulajic said the Yugoslav Government should also raise the question of future plans for the territory that had been the scene of genocide in World War II and again in the 1991-1995 war.

He said that the Yugoslav diplomacy and media should work systematically to fully inform the international public, and especially small and undeveloped countries, about the ensuing dangers of the precedents that had been set in the tragic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

Financial Troubles in Military Industry

95BA0291F Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 95 pp 19-20

[Article by M. Simovic: "Military Industry: At a Crossroads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is felt that in earlier times the segments of the Yugoslav economy referred to as "enterprises of particular social importance" enjoyed a pronounced privilege. Whether that was really the case is a question itself, but now it is visible to the naked eye that in time this description has become scant on our scale of values by virtue of the fact that a strike, even going so far as a hunger strike of the workers, is demanding that the state take a position on what it will give in return to a factory that, considering it a "facility of particular public interest," it keeps within its scheme whereby it plans its production and buys the output.

This and certain other questions were put to the state by the workers of Zastava Special Products in Kragujevac when they went on strike and announced their determination to persist in the demand that the appropriate bodies of the state say what they want, and they will have to reach agreement with the workers or the business management of the enterprise concerning the terms under which their objectives will be pursued. This strike threatens to escalate into a serious conflict of views and interests, as one can conclude from the fact that it was prepared for a rather long time and also from the coincidental behavior of the strike committee and business management of the factories, which are taking the same stance toward the state.

On a New Road

In both its character and demands, this strike largely stands apart from the series of usual strikes. Most of the demands of the workers of Special Products in Kragujevac have to do with the factory's future status both within the framework of the economic system and also within the framework of the country's military-industrial complex. The workers, then, are demanding the following: definition of the factory's status through transformation of ownership; definition of the foundations for its future economic status; definition of the program for production and development; along with stress on expectations that the artillery program, transferred at one time to Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be returned to them; and, among current issues, agreement on a production contract for 1995 and collection of about $68 million of back claims on the basis of exports that took place before the embargo was instituted. The essence of the reasons for going on strike is obviously the effort to guarantee the factory in the future an economic significance and an economic position that corresponds to its technical and technological level, its real capability for development (equipment and personnel), but also to guarantee the image it has on domestic and foreign markets.

Up to now, factories of "special social importance" have mostly been the concern of the state and its appropriate bodies; now, it seems, that role is being taken over, or at least an effort is being made in that direction, by the business management of these factories, which in the future will no longer be able to merely play the role of executor of "orders" from the appropriate federal institutions.

There is no dispute that the disintegration of Yugoslavia and redefinition of its territory has given rise to the need for a new approach to definition of objectives of military strategy and thereby a need to examine the function of the military-industrial complex under the new conditions, both in the sense of the task set for the country's defense and also in the sense of development of an industrial branch in keeping with the marketability of its products. We do not know what has been done to date in this direction, although certain indications, and indeed the motives for the strike of the workers of Special Products in Kragujevac, support the assertion that not much has been done, although the present circumstances require a more effective approach to certain problems, especially because significant capacities of the military industry have remained in the republics that have seceded. Certainly, one of the very serious issues being raised at this point is whether to retain the procedure of state distribution of the production program according to the previous principles, among them the principle of "preserving brotherhood and unity," or should they embark on a new road and promote the principle of economic logic: achieve optimum benefits with minimum investment? The strikers at Special Products are insisting on an answer, having learned their lesson in 1948, when the entire artillery program was transferred from Kragujevac to Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that the first modern cannon foundry in the Balkans and Serbia's industrial pioneer were left without the production of cannon. (At that time, a new city, Novi Travnik, began its life from the equipment and personnel of Topolivnica, or the artillery plants, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the factory Brotherhood and Unity had the central place in that.)

The people in Kragujevac (not only the workers at Zastava Special Products) are demanding of this third Yugoslavia that it restore to them "their artillery program," making reference to a moral right, but also to sound economic arguments. First, they say that Kragujevac has the installed capacity, personnel, and experience in arms production. Second, in the opinion of the strike committee and the business management of Special Products, the image of the Kragujevac factory in the world, built over a century, is an equally important argument. Third, at the School of Mechanical Engineering in Kragujevac there is a team of experts able to design the most sophisticated and up-to-date machines for the operations involved in manufacturing weapons.

We believe that all this was borne in mind in February of this year when Zastava received the decision of the appropriate government body that the artillery program was being entrusted to that factory. That decision was soon nullified, without a sound line of argument, and that was the last drop of dissatisfaction at Special Products, the one that moved it to "go on strike," which after a few days was "frozen" until 11 July, by which time the government of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was to make specific answers to the demands presented above.

In Expectation of a Decision

Stories are going around Zastava and Kragujevac that the artillery program is being "granted" to Belgrade, and then certain other cities in Serbia are mentioned, and in the end it is said that this program is being "given" to Montenegro, specifically to the firm Radoje Dakic.... No one at Zastava can either confirm or deny this "report." Nevertheless, the withdrawal of the decision made to choose Kragujevac and Special Products as the most efficient and economically best-justified choice opens up the door to all kinds of speculation. For now, the question is open: Will the state continue the practice of "distribution" of the production program according to the earlier criteria, or will it obey economic logic even in an area in which a "higher public interest" has been registered? It is impossible to skirt around the position that the "highest social interest is not to invest in new capacities if those capacities already exist, especially in view of our present poverty," says the strike committee at Special Products.

As for status, the business management of Special Products recommends to its workers patience in waiting for the problems of the Kragujevac arms factory to be resolved within the framework of the entire complex of the military industry. The proposed law on production of arms and military equipment has been written; it envisages certain steps in the area of ownership transformation even of this type of firm, and an inflow of state capital is expected in that connection. However, it remains unclear how the necessary funds are to be furnished under present circumstances.

How serious the situation has become in the area of financing the production of arms and military supplies can be concluded from the demands of Special Products that the state finally take a position on its orders for 1995. Should the strikers of the Kragujevac factory, that is, the workers of Yugoslavia's military-industrial complex, take into account that the funds of the federal budget for these purposes are less than modest? ("The total budget funds are so little they do not cover the obligations from 1994," says Vukasin Filipovic, director of Zastava Special Products.) However, the "higher public interest" requires that certain institutions of the state take into account the vital functions of this industry. Up to now, the patronage of the state has not always afforded the military-industrial complex and its various segments a very favorable position. For example, for an entire year the enterprise was operating with an approximate price of its labor, and then at the end they added up the direct and indirect costs of production, and "closed the account" in the face of the joint commission of the factory and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Under those conditions, what funds remain for modernization of production and for development in general?

All in all, the military-industrial complex in Yugoslavia is going through one of the most difficult phases since 1945. Many issues, from those of overall development to those concerning the status of enterprises, are to be defined only when an effort is made to resolve them. Regardless of the direction in which development is committed and regardless of what fields of production are given priority, it is certain that it will be difficult to attain the objective without solid material resources.

Transportation Losses Blamed on Sanctions

95BA0291G Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 95 pp 28-30

[Article by Bernard Ostojic: "Transportation...to the Danube"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Dusan Strugar, chairman of the Board of Directors of Yugoslav River Shipping [JRB], said in a conversation with EKONOMSKA POLITIKA that in the first year the sanctions were applied (1993), the largest Yugoslav river carrier operated at only 5-percent capacity. The next year, to be sure, employment increased to 11 percent of capacity, but this trend, if the sanctions persist, can at best continue to employment of a maximum of some 15 percent. That is approximately the range of employment of shipping companies in East Europe. As reported at last year's conference of Danube shippers held in Vienna, the largest national carrier, the carrier of Ukraine (and, at the same time, the largest carrier on the Danube), alone recorded a direct loss of more than $400 million in the years of sanctions toward the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], i.e., in the years when transportation on the Danube was interrupted. That is said to be the value of business that the company would have had if the shipping regime on the Danube had remained the same as it was before the sanctions. More than 20,000 Ukrainian boatmen and dockyard workers were left temporarily unemployed, it was said at the time. Similar figures were presented by the carriers of Romania and Bulgaria, while the shippers of Hungary, Austria, and Germany do not dispute their losses, but do not report them either, mainly "because of the policy of their governments toward the FRY," that is, because of the resolve of those governments to "consistently enforce" the sanctions toward the FRY, not encouraging any pressures to have them moderated or removed.

The direct loss to Yugoslav River Shipping, which constitutes more than half of Yugoslav shipping capacity, according to Dusan Strugar, is at least $100 million. The calculation is based on the fact that in the years before the sanctions the JRB had annual earnings of about $35 million from import business in international transportation, and it employed no less than 97 percent of its total capacity. The net annual inflow of foreign exchange averaged about $30 million. The total bill that Yugoslav shippers are forced to pay because of the sanctions is, however, considerably larger. Resolution 820, Strugar says, found two ships of the JRB and some 20 facilities for transshipment of cargo, along with a cargo of 5,000 metric tons of crude oil and a few thousand tons of manufactured fertilizer in Reni and Izmail (Ukraine), where they were "imprisoned." A bill that now amounts to more than $400,000 has been presented to the largest domestic shipper solely on the basis of storage charges for that imprisoned part of the fleet (about 10 percent of the total capacity of the JRB).

To these (direct) costs we should also add the costs of unemployment of about 1,000 workers of Yugoslav River Shipping (of a total of about 1,460). The price of the indisputable fact that the nine-tenths of the fleet not working is depreciating faster than it would have been expended "in operation" is absolutely impossible to quantify in precise terms at present. That quantification might possibly be made only when the fleet is again put "into operation." According to estimates in the JRB, at present approximately only one-half of the anchored fleet could set sail at this moment without (considerable?) outlays for revitalization. Perhaps a conclusion might be drawn indirectly from this fact that in the (not very likely) case that the sanctions are removed soon, at least concerning river transportation, which is being demanded ever more loudly not only by the shippers, but also by the governments of the Danube countries downriver from the FRY, and provided the assertion of the Yugoslav shippers proves to be accurate that business ties from the period before the sanctions have not been destroyed, a net inflow of foreign exchange amounting to about $15 million could be realized. Another amount of that same size would be "accessible" insofar as the other half of the fleet could be outfitted for "renewed" navigation.

It is with approximately this line of argument that the shippers are demanding justification for their insistence, not exactly thunderous, it is true, that under their present circumstances they be helped with "money remittances" that would be used exclusively for maintenance of the fleet or prevention of its ruination. At this volume of business, that is, they are unable to realize revenues that would be even approximately sufficient to cover those costs. Aid, or perhaps more accurately, investment in a future high-quality source of foreign exchange, would, of course, have to come from or through the mediation of the state. However, for the present they have not achieved much in that regard. In the revenues from fees that are collected from foreign carriers for navigation of the Yugoslav part of the Danube, the shippers have a share of less than 10 percent. At one time, they were promised half of those funds, although introduction of the fees was motivated in principle exclusively by the need to maintain the waterways (!). The problem is supposedly that the promise was made "at the republic level," while the fees are a revenue of the federal budget. Be that as it may, it is a fact, however, that, as Strugar says, even that small amount of funds from the fees that reach the accounts of the shipper mainly go back to the federal treasury through the Yugoslav Registry of Shipping, that is, in the form of the carrier's obligation to register its vessels for navigation.

At least equally depressing for the shippers is the fact that river transportation, the most economical, the least environmentally dangerous, and so on, has never gotten the treatment it deserves in transportation policy (of the state). On the contrary, it is a fact, for example, that shippers (along with others) are required to allocate from their gross revenues a contribution (2 percent) for the railroads, that is, that in practical terms they are subject to the "very original" obligation of financing their own competition in the circumstances they are in because of the sanctions. Measures "at the lower level" (also government measures) have basically the same impact. For instance, water-management organizations, which are public, which is to say, state-owned enterprises, have been regularly increasing fees for dredging, which reduces revenues from this activity, one of the rare activities left to the shippers, although it (the revenue) has already been drastically reduced because of the recession in the construction industry. Another symptomatic manifestation in this regard is that opstinas and port captaincies, again, that is, states, because they are under jurisdiction of the Transportation Ministry, have been drastically increasing their fees for use of the shore.

Economic Data on Former Yugoslav Republics

95BA0299A Belgrade VREME (VREME NOVCA supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 95 pp 8-9

[Article reprinted from the monthly MESECNE ANALIZE I PROGNOZE issued by the Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade: "The Economy of the New States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], much like the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], have suffered substantial losses since the disintegration of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (there is no point in including Bosnia-Herzegovina in any analysis; the widespread devastation is still taking place). The level of mutual purchases and deliveries substantially exceeded the purchases and deliveries from abroad, so that the decline of mutual communications has essentially disrupted economic flows. These three newly created states, it is true, have continued their trade with one another, which to some extent has mitigated the total loss, and that is an advantage over Serbia and Montenegro. It should not be forgotten that the military operations and international encirclement have affected Slovenia least. All of this together has had the result that the gap in the social product, which existed even in the joint state, has tended to widen. Slovenia had the smallest drop at the output and thereafter growth (1993—+ 1.3 percent, 1994—more than 5 percent), so that it is now estimated to have a per capita social product (DP) of $6,000-8,000. Croatia had a decline, especially in 1991, when it was 29 percent, which is one reason why the total result for the last four years shows the largest drop of the former SFRY republics, not counting the FRY, which has had a still greater drop. The growth of 0.8 percent in the last year is not sufficient to offset the earlier shock. The DP in Macedonia has been dropping constantly since 1989, but slower than in Serbia, so that the per capita value has come even (previously there was a difference to Serbia's advantage).

Per capita DP is about $3,000 in Croatia, and about $1,000 in Macedonia and the FRY, but if assumptions about the impact of the gray economy are concluded, then it might roughly be calculated that in Slovenia it is about $10,000 (20 percent for the gray economy), Croatia—$4,000 (30 percent from the gray economy), and Macedonia—$1,250 (25 percent from the gray economy). In the same way, we might arrive at about $1,500 for the FRY.

Industrial output has behaved similarly to the social product. In 1994, industrial production in Slovenia rose 6.4 percent, while it dropped 10.5 percent in Macedonia and 2.7 percent in Croatia. The current figures for the beginning of 1995 show an average growth of about 8 index points in a seasonally adjusted series in Slovenia, while there is a decline in Macedonia and Croatia.

All three former Yugoslav republics, now states, have a negative foreign trade balance. Slovenia has a negative trade balance of over $400 million, but the total Slovene trade sector is so large that this is a level that can be supported quite easily. That is, both imports and exports range at a level of about $7 billion, and total trade over $14 billion. Slovenia has a trade surplus in consumer goods, and it has been reporting a sizable growth of exports (18.4 percent) and a drop in the importation of services (- 2.4 percent). As a consequence, in spite of the negative trade balance, it has a much better current balance of payments, and the high level of foreign exchange reserves is creating problems for the export sector of the economy because of the pressure on the exchange rate of the tolar. Finally, exports have a share of 60.4 percent in the Slovene social product. The trade deficit in Croatia amounted to $968 million in 1994, 62 percent of this covered by exports. Macedonia has a higher export-import ratio, but a far smaller volume of foreign trade than Croatia (and also Slovenia, of course): Imports are slightly under $1 billion, and exports slightly greater than $1.2 billion.

Inflation was characteristic of the former Yugoslavia for years, and all the countries that have been created from it have had big problems with inflation. In that respect, the year 1994 is atypical because not only Slovenia, but also Croatia and Macedonia, have entered a zone of low (single-digit monthly) inflation. By comparison, inflation is last to calm down in the FRY; the rise of retail prices between February and December is zero, but with over 300 million of inflation in January and a 2,243-percent rise of prices in February, the annual prices do not show this.

Macedonia first recorded single-digit monthly inflation in February 1994. Before that, on several occasions it had low inflation, but it has mainly recorded double-digit price increases, somewhat higher during 1992 than during 1993. In Croatia, single-digit inflation appeared in November 1993, while in Slovenia prices have been stable for quite a long time (more than three years).

Current developments follow trends in 1994: Prices in Slovenia were also low in early 1995, rising about 0.8 percent on the average during the first three months. The trend is similar in Macedonia with a rise of 4.1 percent in the first four months, with an average of about 1 percent.

1994/1993 (Percent)	Macedonia	Croatia	Slovenia
GDP	—	4.4	0.8
Industrial output	-10.5	-2.7	6.4
Unemployment (94/93)	6.3	18.0	14.1
Retail prices	121.8	-2.3	18.3
Real wages	-10.2	—	9.0
M1 money supply	239.7	190.4	42.1
Trade balance	-$260 million	-$968 million	-$441 million
Foreign exchange reserves (94)	—	$2.3 billion	$2.8 billion

Serbia

SRS: Milosevic About To Betray Bosnian Serbs

LD1008161895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Aug (SRNA)—Vojislav Seselj, the chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said in Belgrade today "Milosevic has betrayed the western part of the Republic of Serb Krajina and is now preparing to do the same with the Bosnian Serb Republic."

Seselj told a news conference that the Serbian president was trying very hard to sow discord between the Bosnian Serb republic's military and civilian leaderships "in order to continue his treacherous policies."

"Milosevic has no intention of ending his policy of betrayal of the Serb people and Serb lands, hence he must be opposed and 'helped' to leave power," the SRS chairman said.

According to him, the SRS together with the Democratic Party [DS] and the Democratic Party of Serbia are organizing a joint meeting in Belgrade, which will demand an urgent dismissal of the Serbian president, the end of the blockade on the river Drina, and assistance to the Serbs living west of the river Drina.

"Consultations about the organization of the meeting have been under way for several days and the only problem is that DS chairman Zoran Djindjic has not yet spoken out in favor of the meeting," Seselj said.

He said there would be no elections for some considerable time "so the only thing left to do is to topple Milosevic, because the remaining Serb lands could be saved only if he was out of power."

Official: All Refugees To Be Accomodated

AU1008201995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksa Jokic, Serbian minister of traffic and communications and head of the republican staff for accommodating expelled persons from the Republic of Serb Krajina, said that Serbia will receive and accommodate everybody. Later on, with an organized policy in conformity with the development of the political situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, it will find permanent solutions for all these people.

Nobody will be forced to do anything, Jokic stressed, and added that everybody will be fed and given medical assistance. The Serbian Government has already started drafting the program to accommodate the expellees there where they will be able to live in an organized manner and where their children will go to school. Jokic pointed out that most of these people used to work in agriculture and have their own tractors, so they will be put in places where they will be able to live from their own work.

Aid Group Protests Police Removal of Refugees

AU1008203295 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Police Forcefully Removed Refugees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The humanitarian organization Spona [Link] sent a letter to Serbian Interior Minister Zoran Sokolovic in which it reminded him of its maximal, round-the-clock engagement in receiving and assisting the exiled refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] as well as the appeals of all state humanitarian organizations addressed to the citizens of Serbia. "Apart from distributing a sizable quantity of aid to the reception centers (Sremska Raca border crossing, Sid, Simanovci, Sajam), we received 50 refugees from Knin on 7 August and assumed complete care of them, including solving the problem of their permanent accommodation. We found accommodation for the unfortunate people from Knin in the local community of Zemun Polje and, in cooperation with the people from the direct vicinity, provided them with everything they needed," the letter reads further.

"People in uniforms of the police whose minister you are arrived yesterday to move 'the expelled flock' farther away from Belgrade, in the most brutal and merciless way, to some sort of camp. The tears and screams of children and the pleas of the displaced mothers did not help.

"Were the Serbian police bothered by a group of unfortunate people sleeping and eating?

"Were they chased away because the assistance to them was provided by Spona?

"The uniforms of the policemen whose minister you are appeared that afternoon to those bewildered helpless people equally as terrifying as the uniforms of Tudjman's criminals in Knin only a couple of days earlier.

"Our sphere of activity is humanity, Mr. Minister. However, we are helpless in the face of inhumanity of these uniforms in Belgrade and those in Knin," the letter from the managerial board of Spona, sent to Zoran Sokolovic, states.

Witnesses Tell of Convoy Going to Croat Border

AU1008133295 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 10 (AFP)—A convoy of artillery, trucks and ambulances from the rump Yugoslavia made its way from Belgrade towards the Croatian border Thursday [10 August], witnesses told AFP.

Commentators interpreted the deployment as further evidence the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) (Serbia and Montenegro) is bolstering up its military resources in preparation for a possible Croatian offensive in eastern Slavonia, on the border with Serbia.

Since last Saturday, several convoys, including more than 100 armoured vehicles, have transported anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles have been seen moving from Belgrade towards the border region, military experts said. [passage omitted]

Simultaneously, the Yugoslav Army has been "selectively" mobilising reservists from crack units, according to sources close to the army. [passage omitted]

Secessionist Serbs heightened the tension Wednesday by announcing the setting up of a joint military command with Belgrade to counter a possible Croatian attack.

In Belgrade, the chief of staff of the federal army has neither confirmed nor denied the announcement which has not been reported by official Yugoslav media. [passage omitted]

'Offensive' If Croats Attack Eastern Slavonia

AU1008162495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 5

[Report by BETA: "Knin Politicians First To Pull Their Families Out of War Whirlwind"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jagodina, BETA—Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, commander of the Serb Volunteer Guard, yesterday blamed the Knin politicians for the loss of the southern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

In a statement for Radio Jagodina, Raznatovic said that "the Knin politicians, who were the first to pull their families out of the war whirlwind, are responsible" for the loss of the southern part of the RSK and that "poor command precluded the army from offering any sort of resistance to the Croatian aggressor."

Raznatovic deemed this to be "a disgrace to the Serbian nation" and added that, in his opinion, coupled with a motivation and good commanding, "Knin could have been defended by 200 well-trained soldiers." The Croatian Army will not stop in Knin and the southern part of the RSK, and "its next target" is eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, Raznatovic said, adding that these territories, instructed by the past experiences, will "await the Croatian aggression readily." "In the case of an attack by the Croats, we shall launch an offensive," Raznatovic concluded.

Article Fears Refugees Bringing In Arms

AU1008183395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by D. Petrovic: "Without Legal Basis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—NASA BORBA reporters who were visiting the Sremska Raca and Bosanska Raca border crossings have reported that some refugees, apart from their smallish baggage, are also carrying arms, which the border guards mostly impound. However, there is a grounded suspicion that arms and explosive devices are escaping the attention of the border guards in the atmosphere of general chaos. It is a widely known fact, at least judging by the information of the Belgrade Internal Affairs Secretariat, that an enormous quantity of various types of arms has been smuggled into the FRY from the war-torn regions over the past four years.

It is also known that citizens must have licenses for the use and possession of each arm they own as well as an arms' declaration, and all of this must be registered with an incumbent service of the Serbian Interior Ministry. Citizens who are arriving from abroad (which really includes the refugees, too) can, according to the regulations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, bring arms across the border only with a permit issued by their country (for personal arms) or with a special permit (for greater quantities intended for sale, the army, police, and similar). However, if the arms are banned for civilian use in the FRY, and such arms are most often used in wars (for example "Hecklers," "Scorpions," various types of rifles, semiautomatic rifles, and automatic rifles), they must be left at the border and can only be brought into the country on the condition that they are intended for the army or the police.

Article 33 of the Serbian Law on Firearms and Ammunition stipulates that "the unauthorized purchase, possession, manufacture, sale, or exchange of firearms, ammunition, and explosives is punishable with six months to three years imprisonment."

Commentary Derides Milosevic's Peace Effort

AU1108093595 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 pp 6-7

[Commentary by Stojan Cerovic: "Shepherd's Letters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of Serbia was badly shaken by the horrors of war, losses, and human victims. He did not know what it actually looked like until some Muslims from Srebrenica and Zepa fled to Serbia, and some of them must have told him directly and personally that in war people kill each other. He understood how unpleasant that fact can be when he saw that it made the Muslim soldiers distinguish between Serbs and Serbs: It made them flee to Serbia and seek protection from him. How awful must be the suffering of those who decided to do that?!

So Milosevic sat down right away and wrote a letter to Alija Izetbegovic and General Mladic, begging them to immediately become friends again and hug each other. This time he allowed everyone to take a look at his correspondence, which he does quite rarely—that is, only when he has something nice to say. In his case, it is usually a sign that all other means have been exhausted.

Of all of the readers of Milosevic's letters, the addressees must have felt the most stupid. If it had not been about such serious things, and if they had dared to react quite personally, I think I know how both Mladic and Izetbegovic would have responded to this greatest humanist in the world.

However, they said nothing because they were actually the least addressed by the letter, while its messages are being deciphered by everybody else.

Let us first forget about Izetbegovic because the letter to him has no sense or meaning, unless as a complement to the other one and mere demagoguery. Milosevic has no influence on that side, while at the time he had it and when he was meeting with Izetbegovic, they used to talk in a different way. By addressing Mladic he is going over the head of Radovan Karadzic, which is the first important message that everybody perceived. As a matter of fact, that message was addressed to Karadzic himself, as well as to the Bosnian Serbs. Milosevic is not supposed to pursue a peace policy with somebody as fanatical, notorious, and bellicose as Karadzic, but Mladic is, of course, something completely different.

That essential difference between them has been perceived so far by no one other than Milosevic himself, not even, perhaps, by the candidates for The Hague themselves, so that he will have a lot of trouble explaining the matter to Mladic. That is, the general is supposed to renounce his martial glory, to suddenly start to hate shelling and love fishing and to understand that he got involved with a bad crowd, which he has to get rid of right away. So far, he has not shown any particular inclination to undertake such a transformation, but I guess Milosevic knows why he expects Mladic to do that and what he is offering him.

We who are concerned about him remember that, before these latest letters, the president sent several others to Knin and Pale. In those letters he had made some accusations and issued strict instructions with a threatening tone. This time, however, he understood that such a tone is all too binding on him, so he satisfied himself with appeals and pleas, like a patriarch who has nothing to threaten with save God. This should make the world powers draw a conclusion that he should be left alone and spared new pressures because all that this man of God can really do is send shepherd's letters across the Drina.

However, here there are some other things that will certainly not escape human malice, that loves to stain everything that is clean. First, the author's speed of reaction. While the siege and capture of Srebrenica and then Zepa were still under way, while in remote parts of the world people vomited as they viewed images of that apocalypse, no letters were coming from Belgrade, either to General Mladic or to anyone else. After everything was finished, after the world powers managed to at least partly unanimously get upset and threaten the use of air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, after the offensive of the Croatian army began, after the United States came dangerously close to a decision to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government, and after, on top of it all, it was said that Milosevic would get nothing in exchange for the recognition of Bosnia, he understood that it was time to start making God-pleasing deeds. It is simply unbelievable that no one has yet perceived to what extent fear can enoble this man.

That is, Milosevic is, in principle, against any sort of violence and war in which his party could get beaten up. He is consistent in the conviction that it is better to win than to lose and better to dupe than be duped. Whenever he has to, he will be just. Whenever it pays, he will be sincere. He will keep any promise and abide by any rule that puts someone else at a disadvantage. He will always show mercy and understanding toward the bigger and stronger, and he is simply not able to economize on nice words when he is supposed to get something for himself.

All of this is still insufficient for understanding the basic principles of his peace-loving policy. I would say that, in general, he is satisfied with the development of the Bosnian war in the past three years, as well as with his role in it, which means that it would best suit him if the war lasted as long as possible, if no one from abroad got involved, if the Bosnian Serbs remained unbendable, so that he could continue making peace efforts and playing hide and seek with the international observers. For the stability and long life of his regime in Serbia, the ideal is that Serbia is not directly involved in war but still has that danger constantly threatening from the closest quarters. This scavenger-like policy is perfectly accommodated to war, and any more considerable changes in Bosnia, in any direction, are hazardous for it.

Writing his letters in support of peace, Milosevic has informed the furious international community that Muslim deserters fled to Serbia, where they were received in quite a friendly way, as if they were sporting rivals. That costs much less than the gain it could bring. On the other hand, he has given a clear answer to Karadzic and all others who are calling or might call on him to start a war against the Croats. He has warned them of the clear division of work: You are waging war, and I am reconciling the parties. Thereby a constant feature of his policy, that Serbia is not at war, is maintained. However, if the fortunes of war turn against the Serbs, he will secretly dispatch sufficient aid. That is the second feature, that a war should be maintained in the state it started in. And if Karadzic happens to become too haughty and sets out to take Sarajevo and achieve all-out victory, Milosevic will try to halt him; he will make diplomatic initiatives and even assess the right moment to recognize Bosnia.

The offensive of the Croatian army, though, is not putting temptation in Milosevic's way only, but it is also indicating a new, quite unpredictable phase of the war. That the United States and the UN Security Council have not condemned the intervention of the Croatian Army in Bosnia can be explained by the desire that at least Croats strike a blow against the Serbs, if nobody else can or will.

However, at the same time it means the complete giving up of all principles of internationally accepted behavior. It seems that Croatia has been given a tacit mandate by the world and that the Croatian troops have been given the status of international forces, as though it were not an interested party and as though that army would just administer justice and reinstate everything in its previous state. If the United States and Germany have really agreed to turn a blind eye to Tudjman's intention to take Krajina by force, they will have to plug their noses when they see what all that will look like.

There are people who believe that a secret agreement has been reached on exchanging territories in Bosnia and Croatia and that the plan is already being implemented, starting with western Slavonia, over Srebrenica and Zepa, to the Bihac enclave and Krajina. I believe that it is more about giving up all of the plans and about the readiness of the world powers to forget about their principles for once and accept forced solutions that would lead to a coercive and total divorce, and between the Serbs and the Croats in the first place. Which means that everybody should grab and hold as much as he can, whereas the masses should flee and take shelter wherever possible. Actually, the Serbs have already thoroughly finished their part of the job in that sense. Now it is the Croats' turn, while the Muslims will get the leftovers.

This is, of course, the perspective of a long-lasting war, permanent chaos, violence, lawlessness, and terrible historic absurdity. The Contact Group, all the peace plans, and international mediators, everything would be forgotten. Bosnia would look like a country infected by the plague. The stench would spread to all of the neighboring countries, and fury would spill over to much of the continent.

Montenegro

Army Bans Soldiers From Watching TV News

AU1108105495 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by L. Brailo: "Lectures Instead of Dnevnik Evening Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dubrovnik—Because information on the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the total chaos in the ranks of General Mrksic's army could not be hidden, despite the substantial efforts of TANJUG and other propaganda sources, the so-called Yugoslav Army in Montenegro has resorted to "more sophisticated ways of informing troops." According to the independent Podgorica agency MONTENA FAX, the Yugoslav Army has banned the viewing of the TV Dnevnik evening newscast at barracks.

"Officers have been appointed to lecture" the troops as a means of keeping them informed. This measure is not accidental when one knows that the state media from 4 to 6 August informed the public that "the Republic of Serb Krajina army was firmly in control of the lines and is securing safe passage for the endangered population to towns in the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina]." To avoid the public's deducing from the numerous news items testifying to the Serbs' massive exodus from the Republic of Serb Krajina that Mrksic's army had suffered a massive defeat in the Croatian [operation] "Storm," the information that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had visited Knin was completely bypassed.

However, this distorted informing of the public has led to a protest in well-known Serbo(-Montenegrin) AB [expansion unknown] and "patriotic" circles, which directed their dissatisfaction with the fall of Martic's parastate at the independent Podgorica radio station Antena M. The radio station (which, along with the MONTENA FAX agency and the weekly MONITOR represents the Montenegrin rather than the Serbian world view) is being condemned for rebroadcasting in its program a Radio Free Europe news program.

Kosovo

Warning of Serb Colonization by Krajina Refugees

AU1008174795 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by B. Jashari: "Alarm Bells"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The course of the fighting in Bosnia and Croatia has meant for Kosovo, besides the danger of the conflict spreading to the south, large-scale operations for colonization and forcibly changing the ethnic structure and an escalation of the Serbian violence and terror against the Albanians.

Kosovo is being colonized by the new wave of war refugees from Krajina. Many communes report that the Serbian-imposed administration is undertaking large-scale preparations for the reception and settlement of refugees on the premises of Prishtina University and Albanian schools from which the Albanians have been forcibly evicted, as well as in holiday camps, hotels, and cultural facilities. It is said that 2,000 refugees from Krajina will be initially settled in Prishtina, Decan, Zvecan, Mitrovice, Gjakove [Djakovica], Vushtrri [Vucitrn], and Lipjan. Serbia's Commissariat for Refugees began to construct 11 large Serbian colonies in Kosova long ago; one of them, with 76 houses and the necessary infrastructure, was inaugurated at Lumemadh near Vushtrri.

This is only part of the enforcement of the decree of the Belgrade government for the recolonization of Kosovo and the permanent settlement in Kosovo of more than 100,000 refugee colonists. This decree for a major recolonization project is only one of the 1,360 forcibly introduced decrees and laws issued by Belgrade since 1990 for the Serbization and the extension of Serbian power in Kosovo. At the federal level, eight legal acts have been passed, ensuring 3,824 apartments and 1,422 building lots for Serbian colonists in Kosovo, while Serbia has passed nine other acts for the construction of 406 apartments and 343 houses for colonists. The Serbs forcibly settled in the communes of Kosovo under the colonization program have been offered more than 2,000 hectares of land, 2,137 building lots, 418 houses, and more than 2,000 apartments and business premises.

Besides the mass dismissals from work, schools, the university, and other institutions, one of the repressive measures aiming to ethnically cleanse Kosovo has been the eviction of more than 450 Albanian families from their apartments, in which Serbian families have been subsequently housed. The tragic result of the Serbian persecution, repression, and terror has been the emigration of 350,000 Albanians from Kosovo in the past five years.

There is no end to the Serbian demands and genocidal projects. A so-called Pan-Serb council recently held at Gracanica near Prishtina called for the permanent settlement in Kosovo of all of the refugees from Bosnia and Croatia and the expulsion to Albania, "beyond the Accursed Mountains," of at least 670,000 Albanians.

Thus, the ethnic cleansing, colonization, and forced demographic changes in Kosovo have assumed very disturbing and dangerous proportions. Kosova has been turned into a colony manned by large repressive Serbian police and military forces. Thus, besides the tragic developments in Bosnia and Croatia, the alarm bells are also ringing in Kosovo and announcing that the red line of danger, at which the international community must halt Serbia, is drawing near.

500 Refugees Expected 11 Aug

LD1008205295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—The arrival of about 500 Serb refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina is expected in Kosovo-Metohija this evening, TANJUG has been told by officials in the province's Red Cross. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina

Croats, Hungarians Fear Influx of Krajina Serbs

LD1008162895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Although Croatian leaders many times told Serbs from the liberated areas not to leave their homes, those who heeded Martic's call and have gone to the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have started forcibly moving out Croats from some villages in the part of the Srijem area, which is in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. Vojvodina Hungarians are also concerned for their future. Ivo Kujundzic reporting:

[Kujundzic] The Croats in Vojvodina's part of Srijem are again exposed to terror by Serb extremists. Over the past three days there have been several attacks on their churches and houses in Novi Slankamen, Hrtkovci, Petrovaradin, Sremska Mitrovica, and Sid. More than 300 Croats were expelled from the village of Kukujevci yesterday. They took with them only the bare necessities in plastic bags. Serb extremists were quick to move into their houses.

The Vojvodina Hungarians are also concerned about their future. The Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] has warned of a Serbian Government decree from 1992, outlining planned settlement of Serbs in Vojvodina's northern municipalities, which now have a majority Hungarian population.

Belgrade planned to settle an additional 10 percent of Serbs on top of the number of residents in each village. That would cause a quick change in the national composition of the towns in Vojvodina, in which the Hungarians have so far been in the majority.

Representatives of the Vojvodina Hungarians have said that they are ready to offer humanitarian assistance to the Serbs who left Croatia, but the Serbs from Croatia should be resettled in Serbia proper, and not in Vojvodina, one of the DZVM leaders said.

24,000 Provided With Shelter

LD1008203695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina Red Cross has announced that, according to reports received by 1800 from all municipalities, over 24,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina have found accommodation with families or at reception centers throughout Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

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